CONSTANTIUS THE APOSTATE:

BEING

A Short Account of His LIFE, and the Senſe of the Primitive Chriſtians about His Succeſſion:

AND

Their Behaviour toward Him.

Wherein is ſhown the Unlawfulneſs of Excluding the Next Heir upon the Account of Religion, and the Neceſſity of Paſſive Obedience, as well to the Unlawfull Oppreſſour, as the Legal Perſecutour:

BEING

A full Anſwer to a late Pamphlet, intituled

Julian the Apoſtate, &c.

Ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις ϕήσειε; τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ τἀναγκαῖα. Sopho.

Let us either deſerve to have a good Prince, or patiently ſuffer and obey ſuch as we deſerve. 1 Hom. againſt Wilfull Reb. &c.

LONDON,

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THE

Epiſtle Dedicatory

TO

Mr. *JOHNSON*,

Authour of

JULIAN the APOSTATE.

SIR,

THE kindneſs you have for an *Apoſtate* (for certainly *Julian* was never better treated than by you) makes me think *Conſtantius* hath a particular title to your Protection, eſpecially ſince we are ſure he revolted to *Arrianiſm*, and not to *Popery*. Now whether theſe kind ſentiments proceed from a diffuſive Charity, or rather a Natural inclination whereby every thing favours its like, I ſhall not preſume to determine, though the latter is

he more probable, ſince, like *Julian*, you took holy Orders, and like him too have, in effect at leaſt, denied a Paſſive Crucified Saviour: this will be plain to any one that conſiderately reades your book, and is the onely thing hath induc'd me to ſay what I have; for I declare I am wholly unacquainted with any thing that belongs to you, but *that*, your *Name* and your *Character* in the Church; ſo that no perſonal grudge could be the occaſion of theſe papers; but a juſt ſenſe of what I owe to my Religion, and the Civil Government under which I live; from which I ill deſerve the Protection and Liberty I enjoy, if I ſhould not uſe my utmoſt endeavour to ſuſtain it, when it is ſo evidently ſupplanted (as now it is) by your pernicious principles. And I cannot think but your Religion is as indifferent to you, as you would have the World believe that of the *Rippon*-Addreſſers

is

is to them, ſince you ſo palpably explode the glorious end of it *Obedience.*

I ſay this after a due and carefull reading of your papers; and I was more exact in the peruſal, becauſe your prejudic'd friends gave it out, that your book ought to be the perfect meaſure of our conduct in relation to his R. H. and the true State of that Civil Obedience we owe to a Tyrant; and added likewiſe, that the Authorities you quoted were unqueſtionable, your inferences and deductions neceſſary and pertinent, and your arguments unanſwerable: but after the moſt diligent and impartial ſearch, not a ſyllable of all this appear'd; and indeed when I conſidered the Vouchers, I laught at my ſelf for giving credit to any thing they ſo confidently aſſerted, ſince o late all that have not a mind to b impos'd upon, underſtand what they ſay, with the ſame precaution they believe women, or interpret dreams;

and indeed they have that quality of great Lyars to have the contrary of what they affirm generally true.

I hope, Sir, you will not take this for a too ſevere reflexion upon your friends; I am ſure they value themſelves upon theſe pious artifices; and it would have been unkind in them, when you had taken ſo much pains in publiſhing ſo many notorious falſities to advance the cauſe, if they had not advanc'd the credit of your book by the ſame means. After theſe unwelcome truths I can expect little favour from you, and indeed entreat none; all that I deſire is, that you would reade this as patiently as I did yours, and then, if you pleaſe, cenſure as freely: but of all faults, I am confident you have no reaſon to accuſe me of that, which is almoſt natural to Dedications, Flattery, and which would have been an unpardonable crime in

Your Servant.

THE
PREFACE.

SInce I intend to uſe the ſame method i v the Account of the Life of Conſtantius, *as is obſerv'd in* Julian's; *it will be neceſſary to take a view of the Preface to that Book, that I may clear all things as I go, leaving nothing unanſwer'd, that has the leaſt appearance of an argument. And that, what he urges may more evidently appear, I ſhall reduce the force of all he ſays, to theſe following Propoſitions, and give my anſwers to them diſtinctly.*

1. *The* Rippon-*Addreſſers are very ſolicitous, leſt his Majeſty ſhould agree to the Bill of Excluſion* (pag. 4.) *and thence infers, that if they were Proteſtants, they were men weary of their Religion,* p. 6.

2. *The Primitive Chriſtians conduct contrary to that of the Addreſſers.*

3. *If they had known* Julian's *Religion before* Conſtantius's *Death, he had not ſucceeded.* p. 7.

4. *Paſſive Obedience neceſſary for the firſt Chriſtians, becauſe the Laws were againſt them;* (p. 7.) *but not for thoſe under* Julian, *becauſe they had the Laws on their ſide; for when 'tis preſcrib'd without Law, and againſt Law, 'tis Mahumetan* (p. 8.)

5. *Paſſive Obedience contrary to the Goſpel; this he pretends to prove from* 1 Cor. 7. 21, 22, 23 verſes, *with Dr.* Hammond's *Paraphraſe: and by the example of St.* Paul, Act. 22. 25, 26, &c. 16. 39, &c. p. 9.

6. *Paſſive Obedience contrary to the Law of the Land.*

As to the firſt of theſe.

I don't find the Addreſſers of Rippon *are fond of a Popiſh, but a lawfull Succeſſour: and if* Mr. Johnſon *infers from their averſion to the Bill of Excluſion, that they are weary of their Religion; certainly he doth not think them Proteſtants now. For what can be a greater mark of that ſacred profeſſion, than to be ſeverely cautious to prevent an Action that would be contrary to all Laws divine and humane? They are ſtrangers to that way of preſerving their Religion, by acting contrary to the dictates of it; and will hardly venture to doe an unjuſt thing now, that they may go quietly to Church hereafter. Certainly we are not by this means to avoid Perſecution; this is nothing elſe, but preferring the eternal torments of the next world, before the little preſſures of this,*

this, and leaping into Hell to avoid the Croſs. I ſhould have made a far different conſtruction of this Addreſs; for if the Gentlemen of Rippon *were ſure his R. H. were a Papiſt (whereof no man yet ever made a legal proof) yet what they did was their duty; for they knew* Imperatores bonos voto expetendos, qualeſcunque tolerandos: *And that this was the opinion of the Primitive Chriſtians, as well as* Tacitus. *Which will be more fully made out in my anſwer to the ſecond Poſition, which is,* That the Conduct of the Primitive Chriſtians, was quite contrary to that of the Addreſſers.

It will be hard to reconcile this ſaying of his, not onely to truth, but ſenſe; for if the Primitive Chriſtians acted quite contrary to the Addreſſers, then when theſe made it their humble Petition to his Majeſty not to exclude his R. H. they ſupplicated to Conſtantius *to put by* Julian; *but this was not ſo, as he himſelf aſſures us* (p. 18.) *ſo that his ſaying the Primitive Chriſtians acted contrary to the Gentlemen of* Rippon, *when he acknowledges they did nothing at all, muſt either be nonſenſe, or made out by a new definition of contraries.*

But I will ſuppoſe he means had the Chriſtians known Julian's *Apoſtacy, they would have us'd all poſſible means to have prevented his coming to the Empire. Which is the ſubſtance of the third Poſition to be anſwered.*

Certainly

Certainly he ought to have good grounds for this aſſertion, and know of ſome preſidents of their precluding the next Heir upon the account of Hereſie or Apoſtacy; or at leaſt that it is manifeſt, from ſome principles they own'd, that they would, if it had lain in their power: If he knows any thing of this nature, he would doe well to inform the world of it, and give us a ſecond Edition *of his Book, which onely ſuch an Addition could make conſiderable. For in his Preface he gives no reaſon at all for what he aſſerts; and in the ſecond Chapter of his Book, where proofs of this kind would be very neceſſary, he onely tells as that* Gregory Nazianzen [*highly before diſoblig'd by* Julian] *in an invective long after his death tells* Conſtantius [*then in Heaven*] *that he did ill in ſaving and making* Julian *King; who was both ill ſav'd, and made an ill King: and then concludes,* Conſtantius *would not have done ſo, if he had known* Julian's *Apoſtacy. Sure this Gentleman has had the misfortune that the Chriſtian's Children had under* Julian, *to be deny'd the uſe of Logick and Rhetorick; for how elſe could he make ſuch an abſurd inference, or underſtanding the nature of an Invective, undertake to deduce a concluding argument from any thing that is deliver'd in one? I declare, (though I have the greateſt veneration for the Holy Fathers imaginable, and eſpecially for that great Name* Gregory Nazianzen) *yet I cannot think it my duty ſtrictly*

to

to believe all they ſay in the height of a Panegyrick, or an Invective; there are certain allowances to be made in our belief of Speeches, that are the effects of either kindneſs or anger; and the diſtinction may not be improperly admitted, between the Father, and the Oratour: but this will be more evident, to any impartial man, when I ſhall prove that many things in Gregory's *Invective ſaid in favour of* Conſtantius, *or againſt* Julian, *are not preciſely true: for every one knows* Conſtantius *had faults; for 'tis acknowledg'd* (p. 29.) *that he was guilty of the Murther of his kindred and innovation in matters of Faith (for 'tis there ſaid he repented of theſe things at his death) and I ſhall add, of a ſevere Perſecution (which will be ſeen anon.) Granting this to be true, how could he juſtly merit this Complement from* Gregory? You were led by the hand of God into every counſel and enterprize, whoſe wiſedom was admir'd above your power, and again your power, more than your wiſedom; but your piety was valued above them both. *(Greg. Inv.)*

If Mr. Johnſon *thinks this deſervedly ſaid of* Conſtantius, *he muſt either think all Hiſtories that give us an account of that unhappy Emperour's life, fabulous, or entitle God to his Apoſtacy; but I ſuppoſe he is not arriv'd to that height of folly, to believe the former, or of impiety, to admit of the latter. 'Tis probable he will rather conform to the general opinion of*

all

all underſtanding men, that Gregory *did, and might ſay more in an Invective, than would be allowable in a Hiſtory or a Sermon.*

Again, that he ſhould make the Devil ſteal in along with the Conſult (p. 25.) *can onely be imputed to the uncontrollable liberty of an Invective; for St.* Auſtin *tells us, God that gave the Empire to the Chriſtian Prince* Conſtantine, *gave it alſo to* Julian *the Apoſtate. Thoſe things without doubt, that* One *and the* True *God doth govern and rule as he pleaſeth, by cauſes, although hidden, yet not unjuſt.* (Aug. *de Civ.* D. 5. c. 21.) Origen *likewiſe tells us, that bad and good Princes are both the gift of God,* Si mali ſunt actus noſtri, & operamur malignum in conſpectu dei; dantur nobis principes ſecundum cor noſtrum. [*Orig. in lib. Jud. Hom.* 4.] *Now which is in the right, St.* Auſtin *or* Gregory, *let any man judge. But farther, can any man believe that the Father ſpoke in earneſt, when he tells* Conſtantius *he did ill to ſave* Julian, (p. 23.) *i. e. he had done well if he had Murther'd him (for there is no difference in the Court of Conſcience, between doing an injury your ſelf, and permitting it to be done by others, if it lye in your power to prevent it,) if by that means he had prevented his ſucceſſion; ſince 'tis contrary, not onely to Scripture, but common prudence, to prevent a future inconvenience by a preſent ill, and by a ſin endeavour to avert onely a poſſible misfortune.*

I can't

I can't tell how difficult it is to ſatisfie other people; but for my own part, I think, I can juſtly conclude from theſe inſtances, that every thing in Gregory's *Invective, is not to be urg'd for proof: And this doth not at all derogate from the truth and ſincerity of his other works, becauſe the nature of the thing gives him liberties now; which, as they are not allowable in his other Writings, ſo neither are they uſual.*

But certainly nothing in the world is more ſenſeleſs and ridiculous, than that which Mr. Johnſon *urges to enhanſe the credit of this Invective* (p. 27.) *where he ſays the things* [*concerning* Julian] *were not deliver'd coldly, and nakedly ſet down, but with an* Emphaſis, *and the greateſt vehemency: For all people know, the paſſion they were deliver'd with, ought to make us ſuſpect the truth of them; for angry men often ſpeak what they don't think themſelves; they do not conſider what ought to be ſaid, but what makes moſt againſt their enemy; and their fury improves every thing into a weapon to ſerve their revenge: For I would fain know of Mr.* Johnſon, *which he thinks more exactly true,* Tully's *Offices, or his Philippicks; and yet how nakedly and coldly one is deliver'd, and with what vehemence and pomp of words the other, is eaſily ſeen.*

Therefore

Therefore (with all ſubmiſſion) I think Gregory's *authority in this Invective, ought to have no more weight with us, than* Grotius *allows to the ſayings of Orators* [Prol. l. 1. de Ju. Bel. & Pa.] Nos ſæpe iis utimur, non tam ut inde aſtruamus fidem, quam ut his quæ dicere volumus, ab ipſorum dictis, aliquid ornamenti accedat.

I can hardly imagine that Holy Father himſelf, had he been at the Conſult, would have encourag'd Conſtantius *to exclude* Julian, *though he knew his Apoſtacy; becauſe it cannot be eaſily ſuppos'd, that he would coolly have done an Action, contrary to the Law of Nature: the reveal'd word of God: and the practice of the Primitive Chriſtians.*

1. *That the Excluſion of* Julian, *would have been contrary to the Law of Nature, may be gather'd from what Mr.* Johnſon *ſays of his* Title to the Crown (*p.* 19.) viz. *that it was* Θεσμῷ φύσεως, καὶ νόμῳ φύσεως, *ſo that deſtroying this, muſt needs be a great breach of the Law of Nature, which cannot be allowable upon any Conſideration; for a Heathen will tell us*, Nec derogari aliquid ex hâc [lege naturæ] licet, neque tota abrogari poteſt: neque verò per Senatum, aut per populum, ſolvi hâc lege poſſumus; nec eſt quærendus interpres, aut explanator ejus alius; nec erit alia lex Romæ, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia poſthac: ſed & omnes gentes, & omni tempore, una lex & ſempiterna

terna & immortalis continebit; unuſque erit communis quaſi magiſter, & imperator omnium, Deus ille legis hujus inventor, diſceptator, lator; cui qui non parebit ipſe ſe fugiet, & naturam hominis aſpernabitur; atque hoc ipſo luet maximas pœnas, etiamſi cætera ſupplicia quæ putantur effugerit. [*This is quoted* Lact. 6. Inſt. 8. *out of* Cic. *Books* de Repub. *that are loſt.*] *If this be true (which I am ſure no man of common knowledge will deny) what becomes of the lawfulneſs of Excluding* Julian? *'Twould have been equally as juſt to have prevented his Succeſſion by death as any other means; for any thing tending to this had been a breach of the Law of Nature, and would onely differ from the former, as robbing a man doth, from cutting his Throat.*

2. *That ſuch an attempt is contrary to the reveal'd Law of God, may neceſſarily be infer'd from the exact agreement there is between the Scriptures and the Law of Nature*; This, *being onely* ἔκλυπτον legis illius architypæ & æternæ quæ eſt immenſè divina; *and* thoſe, *his reveal'd will: but 'tis expreſly ſet down in Scripture, that the Right of Succeſſion is entail'd on Primogeniture; for* Gen. 49. 3. *when* Jacob *bleſſed his ſons, he call'd* Reuben *his firſt-born the Excellency of dignity, and the Excellency of power; and in* 2 Chron. 21. 3. *'tis ſaid, that* Jehoram *ſucceeded* Jehoſaphat, *becauſe he was the firſt-born.*

born. I might fill my Margin with quotations to this purpoſe, but I ſhall onely add that great inſtance of the Right of Primogeniture, Gen. 4. 7. *where God tells* Cain *of his younger brother* Abel, Unto thee ſhall be his deſire, and thou ſhalt rule over him; *which are the very words which God ſpake* Chap. 3. v. 16. *when he gave the man dominion over the woman. Now that this right extends to proximity of blood, no body queſtions; ſo that unleſs we have ſome warrant from Scripture to reſcind this title, it is the higheſt ſacrilege imaginable to attempt it; and I challenge all the world to ſhew where that warrant is. God himſelf, indeed, may diſpoſe of the right that he firſt gave; but I would fain know what people could ever lawfully pretend to alter the Succeſſion, without an expreſs warrant from God?* David, *I confeſs, made* Solomon *King, but he declares 'twas by God's immediate appointment*; and of all my ſons, for the Lord hath given me many ſons, he hath choſen Solomon my ſon to ſit upon the Throne of the kingdom of the Lord over Iſrael, 1 *Chron.* 28. 5. *Now I ſhall readily grant the Authour of* Julian's *friends*, Enthuſiaſts; *but I can hardly admit they have a particular* revelation *for what they would now be at; and without this, I think the Excluſion of the Next Heir utterly unlawfull.*

And that this was the ſenſe of the firſt Chriſtians, will be evident from the Apology of

of Athenagoras *to* M. Aurelius, *and his ſon* Commodus: *where having declar'd the Chriſtians were of all others moſt piouſly inclin'd toward God and their Empire, he concludes with this profeſſion:* We pray for your Empire, that the Son (as it is moſt fit) may in the Kingdom ſucceed the Father, and that your Empire may encreaſe and flouriſh, all being made ſubject to you, which would be much for our good, that we leading a quiet and peaceable life, may readily obey you in all your Commands. *I think nothing can be fuller than this to prove what I deſign'd, for that in theſe words he declar'd the ſenſe of the Church, we muſt neceſſarily grant, if we conſider what his Character then was, when he ſpake them.* Athe. Legat. pro Chriſt.

But to come nigher to the buſineſs in hand; the Primitive Chriſtians did know Julian's *Apoſtacy, before* Conſtantius *died: For as ſoon as ever he was declar'd Emperour by the Souldiers, he laid by all pretence to Chriſtianity; for going through every City, he open'd the Temples, and call'd himſelf the High Prieſt* (Soz.) *So that, like Mr.* Johnſon, *he did not lay by the name of Prieſt, though he turn'd Apoſtate. Now that the Army ſhould be ignorant of what* Julian *did ſo publickly in the face of the Sun, is not to be imagin'd; eſpecially if* Conſtantius *himſelf knew it; which Mr.* Johnſon *would have us believe, from the paſſage he cites from* Gregory Naz.

 that

that Conſtantius *repented his declaring* Julian *his Succeſſour; which could onely be upon the account of his Apoſtacy, ſo that he muſt needs know it.*

But if we give any credit to Marcellinus *(whoſe authority I am ſure Mr.* Johnſon *ſeems much to value) if* Conſtantius *did know that* Julian *was a* Pagan, *it was impoſſible he ſhould repent of his leaving him his Succeſſour: for he tells us* (l. 21.) *that upon his falling ſick he did in his right underſtanding* [integro ſenſu] *nominate* Julian *his heir, and* (l. 22.) *with his laſt breath* [ſupremâ voce] *pronounc'd him Emperour: Now that he ſpoke or ſhew'd any ſigns of his repentance after his death, Mr.* Johnſon *will hardly allow, becauſe that looks too like a Popiſh Miracle.*

I am rather inclin'd to believe that Conſtantius *thought the Right of Succeſſion was ſo inviolable, that the higheſt provocation imaginable ought not to prevail with him to alter it; for elſe why did he not endeavour to exclude him, when he had been guilty of the higheſt ingratitude, in procuring himſelf to be declar'd Emperour by the Army, and afterwards in juſtifying his title by an open rebellion? It had certainly been but juſtice to have proceeded with the greateſt rigour againſt him for ſo inſolent an Uſurpation. But alas! he knew his Edicts in this caſe would be ſuperſeded by a greater Law, and that they would be of little force againſt that title from which he firſt deriv'd the power to make them.*

I hope this is a ſufficient anſwer to the ſecond Chapter, wherein Mr. Johnſon *pretends to ſhew the ſenſe of the Primitive Chriſtians about* Julian's *Succeſſion, but makes one man's opinion the ſenſe of the whole Church, and takes that opinion too of his, from his Invectives: this is ſo diſ-ingenuous, it could never be excus'd: but that the badneſs of the cauſe he is engag'd in, can find nothing elſe to ſupport it.*

As to the fourth Poſition, that Paſſive Obedience was neceſſary for the firſt Chriſtians, becauſe the Laws were againſt them, but not to thoſe under *Julian*, becauſe the Laws were for them. *I anſwer; that this diſtinction is frivolous; for ſince the will of their Emperour was a Law (as* Gregory *acknowledges* In. p. 92.*) if they were executed by his Command, they died lawfully. But I ſhall refer the farther proof of this to a particular Chapter of Paſſive Obedience.*

But ſince he urges the Authority of holy Scripture to confirm what he ſays in this place, we muſt, for method ſake, take notice of it: which is the fifth thing to be anſwer'd, viz.

That Paſſive Obedience is contrary to the Goſpel, *as may be ſeen* 1 Cor. 7. 21, 22, 23 *verſes, with Dr.* Hammond's *Paraphraſe.*

'Tis very ſtrange, that when our Saviour ſo often recommends ſufferings to us as our duty, and the badge of our profeſſion, that quietly

and patiently ſubmitting to them, ſhould be contrary to the Goſpel; certainly he has a particular Bible to himſelf; for we find in ours, that ſuffering is particularly the buſineſs of the Goſpel; and is the great concluding beatitude, (Mat. 5. 11.) *nay 'tis evident that miſery and perſecution were firſt entail'd on Chriſtianity; for the* Jews *had the proſpect of Temporal bleſſings: Riches and honours were the lot of their inheritance; but we are commanded to take up the Croſs, and deſpiſe the ſhame of it, that thereby we might imitate him, who condeſcended to be our great exemplar: But however, it will not be amiſs to ſee what Reaſon he has for this monſtrous aſſertion; and becauſe every one has not Dr.* Hammond's *Paraphraſe at hand (which I am confident is the reaſon he quoted it) I ſhall give it you here with the Text.*

V. 21. Art thou call'd being a ſervant? care not for it: but if thou mayſt be made free, uſe it rather.

Para. [*In what condition of life ſoever a man is, when he is converted to Chriſtianity, let him contentedly continue in it, and not think that Chriſtian Religion frees a man from any obligation that lay upon him before; for that is to make Chriſtian Religion a pretence to covetouſneſs, or luſt, or ſecular advantages,* (*ſee* 1 Tim. 6.) *if either being a Chriſtian might manumit a ſervant, or free a husband, or a wife from former obligation. He therefore that being*

being a bondman is converted to Chriſtianity, muſt not think that it is any diſparagement to his Chriſtianity, that he continues a ſervant ſtill, nor be ſolicitous of changing his condition. Yet this is not ſo to be underſtood, but that if by any fair regular means, he can obtain his freedom, he may then make uſe of them, and prefer liberty before ſervitude; for ſo he might have done, had he never been a Chriſtian.]

Ver. 22. For he that is call'd in the Lord, being a ſervant, is the Lord's freeman; likewiſe he that is call'd, being free, is Chriſt's ſervant.

Para. [*For he that being in the condition of a ſervant, is converted to Chriſtianity, doth by his converſion become a freeman in reſpect of Chriſt; not that he ceaſes to be a ſervant to his former maſter, or reaps any ſecular advantages thereby, but his advantages are ſpiritual,* viz. *that by being a Chriſtian he is freed from many ſervitudes, that of ſin,* &c. *that lye upon all others; and to live in Chriſt's family as one of his freemen, though in reſpect of the world he continue as a ſervant. And ſo on the other ſide, he that is a freeman, and turns Chriſtian, becomes thereby a ſervant of Chriſt's, undertaking Obedience to his Command, though he loſe not his liberty in the world by that means. (By which 'tis clear, that Chriſt meddles not with the ſecular Government of this world, nor changes any man's*

outward condition by his becoming Chriſtian.)]

Ver. 23. Ye are bought with a price, be not ſervants of men.

Para. [*Ye that are Chriſtians, and not formerly ſervants to Heathens, do not voluntarily put your ſelves in that condition, but chuſe liberty rather.*]

Certainly Mr. Johnſon *has a different Edition of Dr.* Hammond, *as well as of the Bible, from that which is in uſe with us; for from theſe Texts above cited, nothing can be infer'd to prove what he deſigns,* viz. *that we are encourag'd by Chriſtianity to procure more civil Liberties and Franchiſes; for it is poſitively ſet down in the Paraphraſe, that Chriſt meddles not with the ſecular government of this world, nor changes any man's outward condition, by his becoming Chriſtian.*

One would think, by this way of procedure, Mr. Johnſon, *like* Julian, *onely reades the Scriptures, to pervert other people by an ill application of them, and to uſe the Goſpel againſt his Saviour.*

2. *His inference, that St.* Paul *was againſt Paſſive Obedience* [Act. 22. 26, &c.] *becauſe he told the Captain (that was ignorant of his condition) that he was a* Roman, *and conſequently exempt from the puniſhment he was going to inflict upon him, is the moſt abſurd reaſoning imaginable.*

I perceive

I perceive after all his bawling againſt Paſſive Obedience, he is perfectly ignorant what it is; for to ſuffer torments when we can avert them by lawfull means, is not Paſſive Obedience, but ſtupidity: this is not taking up the Croſs (as a great Man obſerves) but pulling it down upon us: Chriſtianity allows us to make a defence, but we are not to reſiſt; we may certainly tell our ſtory; but if that will not be heard, we muſt ſubmit with patience. And theſe were the Methods of the Primitive Chriſtians, they pray'd to God, they ſupplicated to their Emperours, to avert a threatn'd perſecution; but if theſe means would not doe, they had Gregory Nazianzen's *comfort left ſtill, to dye patiently.* Ἔν ἔχω πρὸς πάντα φάρμακον, μιὰν ὁδὸν πρὸς νίκην (ἐν χειρῷ καυχήσομαι) τὸν ὑπὲρ χειρῶ θάνατον.

Since Paſſive Obedience is not onely allow'd, but enjoin'd by the Goſpel (as is briefly ſhown already, and ſhall be more fully prov'd by and by) that it ſhould be contrary to the Law of the Land (which is the ſixth and laſt thing he lays down) cannot be admitted, ſince our Laws muſt neceſſarily conform to the determinations of the Holy Scriptures; and whatſoever is enacted contrary to them, is ipſo facto void; *and I am ſure whatever he ſays, will hardly induce any man in his right ſenſes to think otherwiſe. I am ſure the Caſe he brings* (p. 9.) *is nothing to the purpoſe; for he can onely infer from that, That a man may kill*

an aggreſſour, and the Law take no hold of him. If he could prove from any inſtance that the Law obliges a man (if he can) to kill one that offers violence to him, he had ſaid ſomething: But there is a vaſt difference between what the Law permits, and what it commands; he is not indeed obnoxious to any legal puniſhment here, but the verdict of a Jury will not abſolve him from a guilt he has contracted by diſobeying our Saviour, who has commanded us not to reſiſt evil, [evil *not ſignifying a* thing, *but a* perſon] Mat. 5. 39. *So that the killing of a* Purſevant, *though it be excus'd in the eye of the Law, it will not be ſo hereafter in heaven; For if he onely deſign'd an arreſt (as 'tis own'd he did) a man ought not to take away his life: this is plain from* Dr. Hammond [*Prac. Cat.* p. 164.] *where he tells us a private man may not by the Law of Chriſt take away another's life, to ſave his own goods, or to repell any ſuch kind of injury, becauſe life is more than goods; nay, 'twould be better to avoid taking away another's life, though to ſave his own; thereby imitating his Saviour who laid down his life for his enemies.* Ibid.

As to thoſe arguments (p. 15.) *from Sir* Simon Ewe's *Journal to prove the lawfulneſs and neceſſity of excluding a Popiſh Succeſſour, I hardly think them worth the leaſt remark. For what can be more unreaſonable, than that which they ſeem to enforce, that it had been juſt*

juſt and warrantable not onely to have diſ-inherited the Queen of Scots, *but to have taken away her life too, for her Religion?*

For what juſt pretence could Queen Elizabeth *have to Condemn a Princeſs altogether as independent as her ſelf, and one that was onely accountable to God for her actions? they might as well have addreſt againſt the* French *King or the Pope for endeavouring to pervert her Majeſtie's Subjects, for the Queen had equal power over theſe Princes, though ſhe had them not in poſſeſſion: And though an Act of Parliament againſt them, would not perhaps have been of very great force, yet it would have been expedient to have ſhewn her good will (as Mr.* Johnſon *calls it.)*

But we ſhall find the weakneſs of theſe arguments in the effect they had on the Queen; for ſhe was ſo far from being perſuaded that the fact was lawfull, that ſhe always deny'd her being conſenting, or ſo much as privy to it, when it was done; and though there might be ſome probable reaſons to believe ſhe was innocent, yet the very ſuſpicion of her being privy to it, has fixt an eternal blot upon her (otherwiſe unſpotted) reputation.

So that theſe arguments will ſeem of very little weight to his preſent Majeſty, when all the world knows how unjuſtly, and unſucceſsfully too, they were urg'd againſt his great Anceſtour, to a Princeſs that was her mortal enemy, and one but too deſirous of her deſtruction.

There

There is nothing now left in the Preface that is worth taking notice of, but the Act of the 13 *of Queen* Elizabeth, *whereby 'twas enacted Treaſon during her life, to affirm that ſhe, and her* Parliament, *could not make Laws and Statutes, of ſufficient force and validity, to limit and bind the Crown of this Realm, and the Deſcent, Limitation, Inheritance,* &c. *I ſhall not preſume to determine of the equity and juſtice of this Act, or whether it were in their power to doe as they did; but the Excellent Authour of a late Pamphlet, entituled,* The Great point of Succeſſion diſcuſſed, *being an Anſwer to the* Hiſtory of Succeſſion, *&c. though he was a Member of thoſe very Parliaments that were ſo hot for the Bill of Excluſion, freely declares that the Crown of* England *is, and ought to be, inſeparably annext to proximity of blood, by the Laws of God, and Nature, and this Realm; ſo that conſequently any Act, that pretends to alter the Succeſſion, is utterly unlawfull, and* ipſo facto *void: and ſo it ought to be adjudged when it ever comes to the Queſtion before the Reverend Judges,* p. 35. *If any one requires fuller ſatisfaction, I refer him to the Book it ſelf, which will convince not onely the diffiders, but the prejudic'd too, of the truth of what is here deliver'd.*

As for the great Subſcribers to that Act, we have a Hierarchy *not at all inferiour to them, either in piety or learning, who are of the contrary opinion; and till I know the reaſons*

why

why they ſubſcrib'd, I ſhall not be ſway'd by their Authorities, when I think I have as great to ballance them.

'Twill be time now to give ſome account of the enſuing Work, but any conſidering man will reade the deſign in the Title Page, or at leaſt will find it in the Book it ſelf, from which I ſhall no longer detain him.

The

The Editions of thoſe Authours that are Cited.

Athanaſius 2 Vol.		*Par.* 1627.
Lactantius		*Baſil.* 1563.
Origen con. Cel.		*Cantab.* 1658.
Auguſt. Opera		*Baſ.* 1569.
Gregory Naz.		*Par.* 1609.
Tertullian		*Par.* 1616.
Ambroſe		*Baſ.* 1555.
Athenagoras		*Par.* 1577.
Theodoret		*Par.* 1673.
Rufinus		*Par.* 1580.
Nicep. Call.		*Fran.* 1588.
Socratis and *Sozome.*	Hiſtor. Eccl.	*Par.* 1668.
Homilies		*Lon.* 1623.

The Editions of Dr. *Hammond*, Biſhop *Taylor*, &c. of the Engliſh Divines, are not ſo various that I need to ſet down here the particular times or places when and where they were printed.

CON-

Conſtantius THE APOSTATE.

CHAP. I.

A Short Account of the Life of Conſtantius.

CONSTANTINE the Great having by his laſt Will divided his Empire between his three Sons, *Conſtantine*, *Conſtantius*, *Conſtance*, died in the Suburbs of *Nicomedia*, no one of his Sons being preſent at his death: But *Conſtantius*, not ſo far

far off as the other two, firſt came to Court; where having paid the uſual reſpects that are due to the memory of a deceaſed Parent, as if all other tyes of Nature were buried with his Father, he commanded, or at leaſt permitted, the execution of his Uncle and Couſins, *Conſtantius Dalmatius* and his Sons. [*Atha.* p. 856.] About three months after the Brothers were proclaim'd Emperours by the Army, each took his ſhare, though not without ſome diſſatisfaction and diſturbance; but things being happily compos'd for the preſent, they retir'd to their reſpective Provinces.

This agreement did not laſt long, for *Conſtantine* thought himſelf hardly dealt with-all, and not content with his ſhare of *France*, *Spain* and *Britain*, would needs encroach upon his Brother *Conſtance*, who had *Italy* and *Africk*, but was ſlain in the proſecution: Thus the Empire of the Weſt devolv'd to *Conſtance*, but all this new acceſſion could not prevent his being aſſaſinated by *Magnentius* an Uſurping Rebel: who at length after many defeats by *Conſtantius*, was forced to that degree of deſpair, that he ſlew himſelf, and left his Conquerour in the quiet poſſeſſion of all the Empire.

I was unwilling to perplex this brief account of his coming to the entire poſſeſſion of the Empire, with the relation of any of his particular actions, reſerving it rather

to

to this place where I may doe it with leſs interruption.

Conſtantius had not been long upon the Throne, but by the inſinuations of an *Arian* Prieſt, he was brought over to be a great favourer of that Hereſie; the account of his perverſion, is at large in moſt Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories; and becauſe it may be material, I ſhall give it at length out of *Theodoret* [*l.* 2. *c.* 3.]

Conſtantia, Siſter to *Conſtantine* the Great, was very intimate with an *Arian* Prieſt, who, diſſembling his own opinion, made it his buſineſs to defend or excuſe *Arius*; this man, upon her death-bed, ſhe recommended to her Brother's care, who was ſignally kind to him; and as a particular mark of his favour, entruſted his laſt Teſtament in his hands: the delivery of which to *Conſtantius*, when he came to Court, was ſufficient to recommend him to his favour; and gave him an intereſt, that in a ſhort time became pernicious to the whole Chriſtian World; for he improving the opportunity he had of being nigh the Emperour, and making his advantage of an inconſtant humour that was peculiar to him, eaſily made him out of love with the true Religion, and as zealous for the falſe. He perſwaded the Emperour, who was but too prone to hearken to any thing that was ill, (*Ath.* p. 883.) that all the diſturbances in the Church aroſe from introducing

ducing the word *Conſubſtantial* into the Articles of Faith, which was no-where to be found in Holy Scripture; and the blame of this was laid upon *Athanaſius.* Thus was that unhappy Emperour perverted to a Hereſie, the moſt dangerous that ever infeſted the Church, for *Athanaſius* tells us (who had certainly good reaſon to know) they deny'd Chriſt. [*p.* 590.]

Athanaſius was the firſt man that ſuffer'd by the Emperour's Apoſtacy; for his piety and learning rendring him formidable to thoſe Hereticks, they ſoon traduced him to *Conſtantius*, who ſent part of his Army to ſeize him at *Alexandria*, but by a miraculous eſcape, he prevented the danger and fled to *Rome.*

Georgius an *Arian* ſucceeded him in his Dioceſs, who repeated all the Cruelties of the former Perſecutions, which were ten times worſe in him, than in the Heathens, ſince he at leaſt profeſt Chriſtianity; he whipt the Men with rods, ſtript the Virgins naked, and brought them to the fire, [*Nicep. Cal. Eccl. Hiſt.*] and in fine, acted all thoſe torments a buſie malice could invent, or a blind fierce zeal could execute.

But *Alexandria* was not the onely Scene of Perſecution; it ſpread it ſelf in a ſhort time as far as the Hereſie that was the cauſe of it; but it raged particularly in *Conſtantinople:* for *Macedonius* deſpiſing the known methods

methods of cruelty as too mean for an *Arian* to exerciſe, had recourſe to thoſe that were particularly of his own invention; he did not onely puniſh thoſe that would not Communicate with him, with the ordinary puniſhments of Whips, Chains, Death: but by an unpreſidented cruelty, would force open their mouths with Clubs, and then throw into them the ſacred Elements.

Women likewiſe and Children, though not initiated nor baptiz'd, were prepoſterouſly forced to be partakers of the Holy Sacrament, and were made, as far as it lay in his power, Hereticks before they knew what Religion was. [*Nic. Call. ib.*] This certainly was a far greater wickedneſs than that of *Julian*; when by adding the Images of the Heathen gods to his own, he deſign'd to deceive the Chriſtians into Idolatry; for this was down-right forcing them (if it were poſſible) into Hereſie.

Upon theſe unheard-of methods of Perſecution, and other bodily torments no leſs ſtrange, that are at large ſet down in that Hiſtory, the Authour makes this ſevere remark: *Inſolitum ſane id, exoticumque ſupplicium, ab iis, qui Chriſtum profeſſi ſunt, inventum; quod ea quæ olim* Græcorum Tyranni *magno ſtudio & ambitione excogitarunt, longè poſt ſe reliquit.* (Ni. Cal. ib.)

Ægypt and *Lybia* were depriv'd of all their Orthodox Biſhops, whoſe places were ſupply'd by *Arians. Ath. Epiſ. ad Soli. vi.*

Liberius, Hoſius, Paulinus, Dionyſius, Euſebius, Luciferus, were Baniſh'd for refuſing to ſubſcribe againſt *Athanaſius*, who had been acquitted by ſo many Synods before. *Ib.*

And *Conſtantius* himſelf at length proceeded to that degree of cruelty againſt the Orthodox Chriſtians, that he made an Edict, not onely to baniſh them, but to put them to death. *Athan.* p. 8. 53.

And the ſame Father tells us, that when *Maximianus* (*Conſtantine*'s Father) perſecuted the Chriſtians, the Heathens themſelves would conceal them, and were ſo generous often as to ſuffer fines and impriſonment, rather than betray thoſe that fled to them for Protection: but the New Hereticks act juſt the contrary, they voluntarily take upon them the office of Searchers, and Executioners, and think that he that hides a Chriſtian is as much their enemy as he that's hid.

And then ſpeaking of *Conſtantius*, he ſays (*Athan.* p. 8. 36.) *Maximianus* ſent the Confeſſours into one common place of Baniſhment; ſo that in all their misfortunes, they had one comfort left (and that no ſmall one) of mutual ſociety. But *Conſtantius* induſtriouſly parted thoſe that were friends, that

that he might make the miſery of their baniſhment more inſupportable, and prevent the onely happineſs they deſir'd, not to be parted till they died. This was ſo great a Cruelty, that never can be excus'd, and no body but a Primitive Chriſtian could bear it without repining.

It would be an endleſs piece of buſineſs to recount all the ſufferings of the Church, under this cruel Apoſtate, who was no leſs a Tyrant in Civil affairs, than a Perſecutour in Religious; it being an obſerv'd Maxim, that under him no one had eſcap'd Condemnation, of whom it had been but whiſper'd that he was guilty; for he ſeldom heard above one ſide, *viz.* the whiſpering *Arian* or Eunuch, and 'twas counted as inſolent for any one accus'd to pretend to make a defence as to proteſt againſt *Arianiſm.* *Ammian.* in 21 tells us, *Si affectatæ dominationis anſam quandam falſam reperiiſſet, aut levem, hanc ſine fine ſcrutando faſque eodem modo ducens ac nefas, Caligulæ, Domitiani, & Commodi immanitatem facile ſuperavit.*

So that if a *Roman* Emperour can act contrary to the Law (as Mr. *Johnſon* affirms), certainly *Conſtantius* did: For what can be more evident, than that no man ſhould be condemn'd without being firſt heard, or his Accuſer appearing, was an Eſtabliſht Law of the Empire? But yet that he acted quite contrary to this, we may plainly ſee in *Athanaſius:*

naſius: For how many were drag'd to death, without daring to offer at a defence? Which would have been ſo far from excuſing them, that it would onely have rendred them more guilty in the eye of the Judge; who being always reſolv'd to condemn, muſt needs reſent any thing ill, that look't as if it deſign'd to prevent him.

And if putting People to death upon pretence and ſhamms was the particular mark (as Mr. *Johnſon* delivers) of an Arbitrary lawleſs Tyrant, certainly *Conſtantius* put in as fair for the Title as any one; For what could be more ſo, than the Actions of his Deputies in *Ægypt* by his Commiſſion? Where innocent children, and fooliſh old women were executed; theſe for preſcribing, thoſe for wearing an inſignificant charm againſt an Ague, under the pretence that they dealt in Sorcery. The firſt time certainly that people ever died for being fools, or that old women ſuffer'd for ſuperſtition, which in them is as neceſſary an effect of Age as grey hairs; and they might as juſtly have been executed for being ugly, or having wrinckles.

Neither were the Emperour's actions at home leſs unaccountable; for when his Sycophants had once perſuaded him, that the ſafety of the World did ſo much depend upon his, that it muſt ceaſe to be with him, (which he vain man believed!) he ſuſpected

pected all that came nigh him to have deſigns upon him; a whiſper or a wry look was death; diſcontent at any thing was miſ-interpreted diſaffection to the government; and a man muſt not be angry, for fear it ſhould be thought he was diſpleas'd at the Emperour. Theſe, and many other things of this inhumane ſtrain, are recounted at large in the Hiſtories of that age. Where, if any one will pleaſe to look, he will find that I have juſt occaſion to ſay a great deal more than I have.

If theſe provocations could not urge the Primitive Chriſtians to have ſo much as ill thoughts of their Emperour, what can doe it? The benefits of *Conſtantine* the Great, the firſt Patron of their Religion, and Eſtabliſher of their happineſs, were ſtill freſh in their memories, which muſt needs make their wounds deeper now; for having once found the joys of a peacefull ſettl'd Church, where (as they do in heaven now) they enjoy'd the pureſt Religion, and the moſt perfect peace; certainly it muſt needs be matter of the higheſt diſcontent, to have all theſe comforts ſnatch't from them, and by the Son of the Great *Conſtantine* that gave them: Here are the moſt aggravating circumſtances imaginable; but their patience was not to be conquer'd, they ſtill made good that ſaying of *Athanaſius*, That Perſecution was the lot of Chriſtianity, *Atha.*

p. 836. But this will be more evident when we come, in the third Chapter, to ſhew the behaviour of the Chriſtians toward Him.

CHAP. II.

The Senſe of the Primitive Chriſtians about his Succeſſion.

Conſtantius came to the Crown with the profeſſion of that Religion his Father was ſo eminent a defender of; ſo that the Chriſtians under *Conſtantine* (without the gift of Prophecy) could not well expect his Apoſtacy. But I am induced to believe, that if they had, there would have been no Petitions to the Emperour to exclude his Son, to ſecure their Religion; but rather aſſurances from them, that this was not a juſt way to preſerve it; there would have been no Bill from the Senate with a Contradiction in the belly of it, to tell the Emperour they would by no means attempt the violation of his Prerogative, or the alteration of the fundamental Laws of the Empire; and yet in the very next clauſe, offer at the Excluſion of

of his lawfull Heir; the nature of the thing will not allow me to make any proof from Hiſtory that it was ſo, but I don't queſtion to make it more than probable it would have been ſo, if there had been occaſion.

For ſince the Right of the next Heir to the Crown is ſo ſtrongly ſecur'd by the Laws of God and Nature, (as I hope has been ſufficiently prov'd in the Preface) and that it is plain *Conſtantius* had this right, being deſcended from *Conſtantine*; I can't imagine that the fears of the Chriſtians (though they had the aſſurance of *Conſtantius* being an *Arian*) could authorize them to attempt his Excluſion; for beſides that it is contradictory to the Principles of their Religion, to prevent a future inconvenience, by a preſent ill, (as is ſhown before) if we may conclude what they would have done then, from what their forefathers did before, or they themſelves afterwards, we ſhall find that they thought no reaſon great enough to put by the lawfull Heir.

For when a Heathen was to ſucceed, there was not the leaſt attempt to bar him; not onely becauſe they doubted their ſtrength, and therefore thought their endeavours would be in vain, but becauſe they thought the contrary their duty; for they did not onely not make it their buſineſs to prevent his coming to the Empire, but as much as in them lay aſſiſted it; for as 'tis above cited

from *Athenagoras*, they declar'd they thought it most just that *Commodus*, as rightfull Heir should succeed his Father *M. Aurelius*; nay 'twas their constant prayer to Almighty God that he might: which certainly had been the greatest madness in the world (he being a Heathen, and consequently their mortal enemy) if they had not thought it so necessary a duty incumbent upon them, that no consideration of their future quiet, or the unmolested enjoyment of their Religion, could exempt them from. So that if the Actions of these Christians have any Authority with us, if we have not disclaim'd their very principles as well as piety, we shall not think it so strange, as Mr. *Johnson* would have the world believe we do, for Christians not to oppose the Succession of their lawfull Prince, though part of his Religion be to extirpate theirs. If it were our own case, we might lawfully pray for his conversion, and I don't question but we should doe it very heartily, for the free exercise of our Religion is the greatest happiness we can wish for on this side heaven; but if we could have it but for an evil thought, 'twere much too dear, and not to be purchased at that rate: And therefore I have often look't with horrour upon that unchristian prayer of the Protestants under Queen *Mary*, which was certainly (whatever Mr. *Johnson* declares to the contrary) never heard or read, to have been

been us'd by any good Chriſtian man againſt any Prince, though he were a Pagan or Infidel, *&c.* [*Pream.* to the Act] (as ſhall be ſeen at large when I come to treat of the Chriſtians prayers) and it was deſervedly made Treaſon then, for it was ſo long before in the eye of heaven; for if an evil thought or wiſh againſt our neighbour, is made as much murther, by the Goſpel, as actually ſtriking him to the heart, why ſuch a notorious profeſſion of our hatred to our Princeſs, and deſire of her deſtruction (upon what conſideration ſoever) ſhould not incurr a proportionable guilt, I cannot eaſily imagine.

But to come nigher to the caſe in hand, 'twill be evident to any, never ſo little converſant in the Eccleſiaſtical Writers, that moſt of thoſe very people, that Mr. *Johnſon* repreſents to the world for ſuch fierce Excluders of a Prince, that profeſt a contrary Religion to theirs, did not think (or at leaſt did not act as if they thought) that a Prince could be barr'd of his Right of Succeſſion, upon the ſcore of Religion; for not two years after *Julian*'s death, *Valens* a furious *Arian*, and bitter perſecutour of thoſe that diſſented from him, was peacefully admitted to be Emperour, and aſſiſted too by the Army; whom we can't think in the leaſt inclin'd to favour that Hereſie (for they were *Jovinian*'s Souldiers) but they knew their duty to their Prince.

I hope these plain instances will satisfie any reasonable man, that the Primitive Christians did not think it consistent with the Principles of their Religion, to exclude a lawfull Successour upon any terms, since we see that neither being a Heathen or an *Arian* (two the most dangerous enemies to Christianity) could prevail with them to attempt it.

'Twould be easie here to answer all the pretended Arguments and Authorities Mr. *Johnson* brings, to prove the contrary actions of the Primitive Christians toward *Julian*: but I suppose the Reader remembers what has been already said of them particularly in the Preface; so that I shall not need to trouble him, or my self, with a repetition.

But I shall hasten to give an Account of their Behaviour toward *Constantius*, and leave the world to judge whether it be not more agreeable to the Gospel, than that which Mr. *Johnson* falsely scandalizes the Christians, under *Julian*, with; and consequently fittest for our imitation.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Their Behaviour towards Him in Words.

'TIS a ſtrange account Mr. *Johnſon* gives us of the Chriſtians behaviour towards their Emperour, though a Perſecutour, and an Apoſtate; for railing is certainly ſo far from being Evangelical, that it is contrary to the Principles of common breeding. But perhaps theſe were ſome of thoſe unhappy people the Emperour had interdicted the benefit of going to School to, and now he deſervedly found the effect of his cruelty. But then he ought to have told us ſo, and not to have laid it down in ſuch general terms, as if it were the approv'd practice of the whole Church: This is the ſtrangeſt injuſtice to that famous age imaginable, and onely expoſing thoſe examples, one would think, by the end of his book, he deſigns we ſhould imitate; for from the ſcope of his Book, I can conclude nothing but this, *viz.* That he intends to give us an account how the Chriſtians in former ages behav'd

behav'd themselves toward an Apostate, to inform us what we may doe on the like occasion. I must confess he has done most of his own party a considerable kindness; for they hitherto have rail'd without president, as well as without cause: And I suppose *Greek* e'er long will be much in fashion with them, as a Language that will extremely accomplish them for that Christian liberty. But as for us, we shall rather fetch the methods of our Conduct from the graver Writings of the Fathers of those times; and not imitate him, who, like our late travelling Sparks, onely observes, and treasures up the vices and follies of the places he visits, and expose them, when he comes home, for rarities and accomplishments.

None certainly but the scum and rabble of that age could be guilty of those indignities to their Emperour: but Mr. *Johnson* tells us, no less a man than *Theodoret* commends them for their Nick-names and Reproaches, and quotes his 3*d* Book and *c.* 22. for what he says; I have look't with both eyes, and cannot find any thing like it: He commends indeed the *Antiochians* for their Zeal, but not their rudeness.

As to the Example of *Maris*, which he brings as the second and last argument to justifie ill language given to an Emperour, if an Apostate, is of very little force; for without all doubt, it was an indiscreet Action, and

and nothing but his great Zeal for Religion could make any colourable excuſe for it; For who, unleſs he had a mind to be a Martyr, would affront an Emperour in the height of his devotion, and upbraid his gods when he was paying his adorations to them? *Origen* I am ſure would have counted ſuch an Action down-right madneſs; for he tells us, when we doe nothing contrary to the law and word of God, we are not ſo mad or furious as to ſtir up, againſt our ſelves, the wrath of the King or of the Magiſtrate, which would bring upon us blows, torments, and divers kinds of death. *Orig. l. 8. contra Cel.*

And I have ſome reaſon to aſſert this, from the quite different Conduct of all the Fathers that liv'd under *Conſtantius*; that were ſo far from doing any thing of this nature, unprovok't, that all the Cruelties that Apoſtate Emperour could inflict, did not extort the leaſt miſ-becoming expreſſion from them.

Athanaſius tells the Emperour in his Apology; "I am not mad, O King, neither "have I forgot the voice of "God that ſaith, *Curſe not the "King, no not in thy heart.* *Atha. Apol. ad Conſt.*

And again, "I did not op- *Ath.* ibid.
"poſe the Command of your Majeſty, God "forbid. I am not ſuch a man as would "oppoſe the very Treaſurer of the City, "much

" much leſs ſo great an Emperour; I was " not ſo mad as to contradict ſuch a Com- " mand as yours; I neither did oppoſe the " Command of your Majeſty, nor will now " attempt to enter into *Alexandria*, untill " you, of your Goodneſs, will pleaſe, I " ſhall.

And in another place of the ſame Apology he tells *Conſtantius*, " If I had been ac- " cus'd before others, I had appeal'd unto " your Majeſty, as the Apoſtle appeal'd un- " to *Cæſar*—But ſeeing they have taken " the boldneſs to calumniate me *before Thee*, " to whom ſhall I appeal *from Thee*, but to " the Father of him who ſaid, I am truth, " that he may incline thy heart to mercy?

" St. *Hilary* tells him (and in the time " of Perſecution too) your mild nature " (bleſſed Lord) agreeth with your gracio- " ous diſpoſition; and becauſe of your " great mercy, we don't doubt of eaſily ob- " taining what we deſire of you; we beg " of you not onely with words, but tears, " that the Catholick Church be no longer " perſecuted by our brethren. *Hilar. ad* " *Conſt. l.* 2.

And 20 Biſhops of the Weſt, in the concluſion of a Letter from a Synod at *Arimi- num*, " We beſeech you, that you cauſe " us not to ſtay from our Charges; but that " the Biſhops, together with their own Peo- " ple, may with peace employ themſelves

" in

" in prayers and the ſervice of God, making " ſupplication for your Kingdoms ſafety and " peace, in which the divine Majeſty long " preſerve you. *Atha. Epiſt. de Syn. Ari.* &c.

Hoſius likewiſe (a man of an extraordinary Zeal and Courage) though provok't by the ſevereſt Perſecutions imaginable, can't think it lawfull for him to ſpeak ſo much as diſ-reſpectfully of the Emperour: but tells him, " Since he had re- " ceiv'd his Imperial Power from God, " whoſoever did detract any thing from that, " ſhould be look't upon as an oppoſer of " the Ordinance of God.

It would be eaſie to ſeem very learned upon this point, that is, to ſtuff my Margin with quotations; but that's a vanity I am not over-deſirous to be thought guilty of. I hope the authorities I have already cited, will be ſufficient to prove what I deſign'd, *viz.* That it was the judgment of the Primitive Chriſtians, that no ill uſage from their Emperour, though a Heathen or Apoſtate, could authorize them to affront him; and that difference of Religion, doth not, by any means, cancell our Obedience to him.

Now that the face of things ſhould be ſo ſoon chang'd, as that it ſhould be damnation to ſpeak ill of the Emperour under *Conſtantius*; and under *Julian*, his immediate Succeſſour, not onely permitted, but meritorious,

rious, to curſe him (as Mr. *Johnſon* acquaints us) is very ſtrange.

I am confident if they did thoſe Actions he lays to their charge, they had no preſident for them in former ages; and the doctrine they govern'd themſelves by, was perfectly new and their own: For 'tis well known all the firſt Chriſtians acted quite contrary; they continually night and day pray'd for the ſafety of the Emperour, [*Cypr. ad Demet.*]

It would be eaſie out of the Martyrologies of the firſt times, to give inſtances of the Chriſtians ſubmiſſion, as ſtrange, as the cruelty of their Perſecutours: But this will be unneceſſary, ſince their ſufferings and patience are ſo well known, that Mr. *Johnſon* himſelf is forc't to own it; but tells us withall, 'twas their duty to ſuffer patiently, becauſe they were perſecuted according to law. This anſwer is of very little force, for there was no other law but the will of their Emperours againſt them, or their Edicts, which were onely their will manifeſted; both which were as much Laws in *Julian's* time, as *Nero's*: Therefore why the Chriſtians ſhould think it their duty patiently to ſubmit to all the inhumane cruelties of that firſt Perſecutour, and thoſe under *Julian* rebell, or at leaſt murmur at thoſe lighter preſſures of their Emperour, I am not able to reſolve.

I am

I am inclin'd to think, that Mr. *Johnſon's* Chriſtians were not ſo good as they ſhould be; for thoſe that will onely ſubmit quietly to Perſecution upon ſome conditions (for he tells us, though they reſiſted *Julian*, they would patiently have bore the cruelty of a Heathen perſecutour) are govern'd rather by humour than Religion; for the Goſpel I am ſure makes no diſtinction, and 'tis a receiv'd maxim, *Ubi lex non diſtinguit nemo diſtinguere debet*; Where the Law makes no diſtinction, no man ought to doe it.

But beſides, it has been ſufficiently prov'd, that *Conſtantius's* proceedings were altogether as illegal and arbitrary, as thoſe of *Julian* could poſſibly be; they were both Apoſtates, and though indeed the latter was leſs to be excus'd (it being ſomething a worſe defection to *Paganiſm* than *Arianiſm*) yet in reſpect of the quiet and ſecurity of the Church, they were both equally dangerous. And yet we ſee from the Examples of ſo many Biſhops, the prayers of all the people, that they were ſo far from curſing him or giving him to the Devil for his due, that they ſeem to be fond of his life, and make the eſtabliſhment and welfare of the Empire, to be the firſt buſineſs of their prayers. For hence it is that we give reſpect to a Heathen, if put in Authority; for though he be moſt unworthy of it himſelf, who holding God's place, gives the Devil thanks for it; but the honour we

give him, his place challengeth. [*Q. 35. exerc. Nov. Test. Tom* 4. *op. Av.*]

CHAP. IV.

Their Actions.

BEfore I give an Account of the Christians behaviour in their Actions toward *Constantius*, it will be necessary to make some Remarks upon those two Actions of a Souldier and a Bishop under *Julian*, which Mr. *Johnson* saith may manifest how the Primitive Christians despis'd him (besides that it is very foul play to infer the general sense of the Church from that of but two members of it) I cannot grant that the Primitive Christians would by any means allow of these Actions.

As to the first, that of *Valentinian*, I must needs own 'twas far more excusable than what old *Gregory* did, for his Character, and the meanness of the person that suffer'd by him, may plead something in his behalf, striking in a Souldier being more pardonable than in a Bishop, and beating a Priest, more tolerable, than kicking an Emperour; but this will not justifie the violence, for it was undoubtedly a fault, though the praises the Historian gives it, would seem to prove the contrary.

contrary. For to this I anſwer, That the Action deſerv'd to be prais'd, not for its own ſake, but becauſe it ſhew'd an extraordinary Zeal for Chriſtianity; it was the Motive, and not the Fact, that was to be commended; and that this is not purely a ſurmiſe, but the real truth of the matter, we may inferr from this plain inſtance. In the Primitive Church many kill'd themſelves, when they could by no other means avoid ſacrificing to Idols; and they ſtand now upon Record for Martyrs. This Action of theirs was certainly ſelf-murther, and conſequently criminal; and Dr. *Hammond* affirms, that it was a fault in them too; but the love of God, and the fear they ſhould be polluted by Idols, was the cauſe of it. And ſo though it might as a frailty be pardon'd by God's mercy in Chriſt, yet ſure this killing themſelves was not that which made them Martyrs; but that great love of God, and reſolving againſt Idolatrous worſhip, which teſtified it ſelf in their killing themſelves for that Cauſe: This it was that made them paſs for Martyrs, and that other incident fault of theirs, was not, in that caſe, thought ſo great, as to diveſt them or rob them of that Honour, [Dr. *Ham. Pr. Ca.*] and 'tis highly probable that this was *Valentinian*'s Caſe; 'twas not his ſtriking the Prieſt, but his Confeſſion, that gave him a title to two Kingdoms, that of the Empire and Heaven.

But I need not have ſaid ſo much of this, for Mr. *Johnſon* himſelf allows it to be an unaccountable Action, *p.* 44.

As to the extravagant Action of old *Gregory Nazianzen* (for I can't juſtly give it a milder Epithet) certainly nothing but the partiality of a Son can excuſe it, and 'tis a fault even in him to commend it; *for who can ſtretch forth his hand againſt the Lord's anointed* (ſure the Foot is not excepted) *and be guiltleſs* (1 *Sam.* 26. 9.) St. *Chryſoſtom's* forbidding the Empreſs *Eudoxia* to come within the Church, was not half ſo inſolent as this Act of *Gregory's*, yet he ſeverely repented of it, and tells us, in the cooler hours of his life, he did more than he could juſtifie.

If I were to ſpecifie the particular Actions of the Primitive Chriſtians under *Conſtantius*, in oppoſition to thoſe under *Julian*, I ſhould be as prolix and tedious as Mr. *Johnſon* is in his compariſon of Popery and Paganiſm; I ſhall add in general terms, (and I defie any one to diſprove me out of the Writings of the Fathers, the Hiſtories, and the Martyrologies of that age) that the Souldiers, (though of a contrary opinion) fought for him. The Fathers (though baniſh'd) pray'd for him, as likewiſe did the Martyrs under perſecution, till the Executioner put an end at once, both to their devotion, and their lives.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of their Devotion, their Pſalms and Prayers.

I Don't think there is ſo much difference between Prayers and Pſalms, as to treat of them ſeverally in two diſtinct Chapters. But ſhall ſpeak of them here together (I hope) without any great abſurdity.

I muſt confeſs there ſeems ſome weight in the inſtance Mr. *Johnſon* urges of the young Martyr *Theodorus*, who curs'd the Emperour out of the Pſalms; and when he ſuffer'd for it, by an extraordinary aſſiſtance from Heaven, not onely ſurviv'd, but enjoy'd the torture: But (like all the reſt he writes) 'tis onely gloſs, and onely fit to be ſwallow'd by thoſe whoſe uſe he deſigns his book for, the prejudic'd and ignorant: *Theſe* believe, becauſe they don't underſtand; *Thoſe*, becauſe it makes for them. For this Holy Martyr repeated this with the ſame ſpirit that *David* firſt deliver'd it, by way of denouncing God's judgments, not delivering his own ſentiments: And Mr. *Johnſon* may

as well ſay the Prieſt curſes the People in the ſolemn Service on *Aſhwedneſday*, as *Theodorus* did the Emperour then; for the Idolaters come in for their ſhare there too.

Mr. *Johnſon* ſays but little of their prayers, and that little too he draws from *Gregory*'s Invective; where he tells the People what a Champion his Father had been againſt *Julian*, how he had ſtricken him with the joint prayers of the people, *&c.* If he did, 'twas contrary to all that the Chriſtians ever did before him. And then what may we judge of thoſe prayers, but that they were as extraordinary and unjuſtifiable as his threatning to kick the Emperour? the ſupplications of his Predeceſſours were not of this ſtrain. *Tertullian* will tell us [That the Scriptures enjoin us, for ſhewing the redundancy of our Charity, to pray to God even for our enemies, and wiſh well unto our perſecutours.] *Tertul.* Apol. *cap.* 31, and 32. And in another place, [We pray for the Emperour's ſafety, we call upon the eternal God, the true God, the living God, whom the Emperours themſelves would wiſh above all others ſhould be propitious to them. *Ibid.* 30.]

And what is more, he tells them in the ſame place, [Having our arms thus ſpread out unto our God, let the Hooks tear us, the Croſſes hang us, the Fires lick us up, *&c.* the poſture of a Chriſtian praying is fitted for

for all kind of torments: Come ye good Governours, wreſt out the ſoul that is ſupplicating for the Emperour:] Can any thing be greater? This is the patience of a Primitive Martyr. By this we ſee not onely calmly to dye for the Truth, but even to dye praying for the Perſecutour, was one of the great requiſits to obtain ſo glorious a title.

But perhaps Mr. *Johnſon* will tell us this is but one Doctor's opinion; but if he will take the pains onely to look in the Indexes of the Fathers, he will be directed to many places, in each of them, to this purpoſe.

Cyprian ſpeaking to the Emperour, ſays, [Day and night continually and inſtantly do we pray, propitiating and appeaſing God, for your peace and ſafety.] *Cypr. ad Demet.*

Sebaſtian tells the Emperour *Diocleſian*, [The Prieſts of the Temples do poſſeſs your Majeſty with an unjuſt ſuſpicion of us, ſuggeſting falſe tales, as if we were enemies to the Commonwealth; whereas by our prayers the Commonwealth is better'd and increas'd; for we ceaſe not to pray for your Empire and the *Roman* Army.]

But to come nigher home, *Athanaſius* (a man not over tame but when it was his duty) gives this reaſon for celebrating prayer in the Church of *Alexandria*, before it

was dedicated, that the people earneſtly preſt him, that they might all pray for the ſafety of the Emperour in the Church, which he himſelf had builded; being ready otherwiſe to go out of the City, and aſſemble themſelves in the deſarts, at the ſolemnity of *Eaſter*, which at that time was to be celebrated.

And again, ſpeaking to the Emperour, [You do not forbid, but are willing that all men ſhould pray, knowing that this is the prayer of all, that you may live in ſafety, and continually reign in peace.——And again (O Emperour of God moſt belov'd) many circuits of years, I pray, may you live, and accompliſh the dedication of this Church; for thoſe prayers that are made within for your welfare, don't at all hinder the dedication of the Church.]

This will be enough to ſatisfie any reaſonable man, that Curſing an Emperour is not ſo Catholick a Doctrine as Mr. *Johnſon* would have us to believe, and that all the Fathers were not of old *Gregory*'s mind. I am inclin'd to believe, that if he could have found but one inſtance more of ſuch a fiery Zeal, it had certainly appear'd, and been improv'd to the beſt advantage: For we find by his tranſcribing ſo great a part of the Book of Homilies, he is of a good Communicative nature, and keeps nothing to

to himſelf that may prove in the leaſt beneficial to the publick.

But I believe it will be a hard thing to find the leaſt pretence for this Doctrine, in all the Orthodox Writings in former ages; and any of the Fathers would look upon the broacher of ſuch principles with as much deteſtation, and call him as many names as *Gregory* did *Julian* the Apoſtate.

Before I conclude this Chapter, it will not be impertinent to ſhew, that prayers and tears were not ſo much out of faſhion in the Primitive Church, as to be ridiculous in ours; as for their prayers, that they were not aim'd againſt the Emperour, I hope has been ſufficiently ſhew'd already, but onely intended for his ſafety. And though it may ſeem *unmanly*, yet that it was not *unchriſtian* to weep, St. *Ambroſe* will inform us; who ſpeaking to his Flock at *Milane*, tells them, [Willingly I will never forſake you; being conſtrain'd, I know not how to make oppoſition; I can ſorrow, I can weep, I can ſigh, againſt Armour, Souldiers and Goths: Tears are my weapons, for ſuch is the Armour of a Prieſt, otherways I cannot, dare not, reſiſt.] *Amb. in Ora. de Baſ. non Trad.*

And this ſame Father (who had likewiſe to deal with an *Arian* Emperour, *Valentinian* the younger) did not defend himſelf with his hand

hand or his weapon, but by faſtings, and continual watchings, and continuing under the Altars, by his *prayers* he procur'd God to be a defender both of him and his Church. *Ruf. Ec. H. l.* 2. *c.* 26.

And that Prayers and Tears do very well together, St. *Bernard* tells us, writing to *Ludovicus* then King of *France*. [Indeed we will ſtand and fight even unto death, if need ſo requires, in our Mothers behalf, with ſuch weapons as we may lawfully uſe; not with Bucklers and Swords, but with Prayers and Tears to God.] I ſuppoſe if he had meant againſt the Emperour, he would hardly have wrote him word ſo. *Ber. in Ep.* 221. *ad Ludo. Re.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Conſtantius's *Death.*

Conſtantius, after having reign'd 38 years, (a great while for a *Roman* Emperour and Perſecutour, and yet not too long, for *Athanaſius* wiſheth him many Circuits of years) making War in *Perſia*, heard the unwelcome News of *Julian*'s being proclaim'd Emperour by the Army: 'Tis not to be imagined but he reſented this treacherous Action with the higheſt indignation; but we do not hear that he attempted to exclude him for it; he knew he had declar'd *Julian*'s right to the Succeſſion, by making him *Cæſar*; and that conſequently it was not in his power to take away that right which was deriv'd from the Law of Nature, and confirm'd by his Edict, and which could onely ceaſe with *Julian*'s Life. That theſe were his thoughts, we ſhall beſt judge by his proceedings in this affair; for he did not put out his Edicts to take away the title of *Cæſar* from *Julian* (which was equivalent to that of Heir-Apparent with us) thereby ſhew-

ſhewing his deſign to diſ-inherit him; but leaving the proſecution of that War he had begun in *Perſia*, he carried his Army againſt *Julian*, to be reveng'd of that ungratefull Uſurper, and to ſecure himſelf in the Empire; for he might kill *Julian* as a Rebell, and ſo his right would fall of courſe; but he could not diſ-inherit him as ſuch, becauſe God, though he gave the power of life and death to the Magiſtrate, hath yet reſerv'd the diſpoſing of Kingdoms to himſelf. But to proceed in the Narrative: *Conſtantius*, whether from inward grief, or the toil of a long journey, or both (is not material) fell ill at *Mopſuecrene*, a place between *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*, where in a very ſhort time he died of a very high Fever; for *Marcellinus* ſaith, that he burnt all over like fire, ſo that his ſervants could not ſo much as touch his body. *Socrates* indeed gives us a far different account of his diſtemper, attributing his Death to an Apoplexy. I ſhall leave the reconciliation of theſe two Hiſtorians to thoſe that think themſelves concern'd in it; for it is not material here of what death he died: but it is certain the News of it was miraculouſly convey'd to *Julian*; for after he had conſulted his Gods and Prieſts about the event of things, and they had aſſur'd him of ſucceſs above his hopes, yet he was diſſatisfied ſtill; he look't upon what they ſaid to be rather flattery than prophecy,

cy, and thought their predictions rather ſquar'd to his deſires, than truth; but he was quickly ſatisfied by an extraordinary revelation; for at the very ſame time the Emperour died in *Cilicia*, a Souldier that lifted *Julian* upon his horſe; he being ſeated, ſuddenly himſelf fell down upon the ground, and cried out in the hearing of all the company, That he who had rais'd him up ſo high, was fallen himſelf. *Marcel. lib.* 21.

Having given this account of his Death, I hope it will not be prepoſterous to ſpeak a word or two of his Repentance.

Socrates is ſilent in this matter, and the great *Athanaſius* poſitively affirms, that he continued in his damnable Hereſie till the laſt. [Ὁς μέχρι τέλους διαμείναϛ ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ] *p.* 907. And that dying, he deſir'd to be baptiz'd, but not by a holy man, but by one *Euzoius* (this is alſo confirm'd by *Socrates*) that had been depos'd for *Arianiſm.* Ibid.

If any one enquires into the credit of this great Father, I ſhall refer him to *Gregory Nazianzen*'s own Speech in commendation of him, which he thus begins, [In praiſing *Athanaſius*, I praiſe Vertue it ſelf, *&c.*] *Greg. Nazian. in Laud. Athan.* And to *Conſtantius*'s Character of him (who certainly might be believ'd when he commended one he hated) in a Letter he ſent to the people of *Alexandria*, wherein he highly commends his integrity,

tegrity, *&c. Athan.* Works. *Epist.* 2. *ad Pop. Alex.* Now which is to be believed, *Athanasius* or *Gregory*, in the account of *Constantius*'s dying a Convert or an Apostate, I leave the Impartial Reader to judge.

But the authority he useth to induce us to believe a Christian did that treacherous act, is much to be suspected; for *Amm. Marcell. lib.* 24. is silent as to that, who was concern'd in the expedition, and an eye-witness of what past; as likewise *Eutropius.* But *Aurelius Victor* affirms the quite contrary, *viz.* that he was kill'd by a Horse-man of the enemies, and one that was flying too. But *Theodoret* tells us positively, *cap.* 25. *lib.* 3. τὸν μὲν τοὶ τὴν δικάταν ἐκείνην ἐπεγκόντα πληγὴν οὐδεὶς ἔγνω μέχρι καὶ τήμερον; Who it was that struck this just stroke, no man knows to this day. And that it was not probable that a Christian would be guilty of this fact, will manifestly enough appear, from the passionate resentments they shew'd at his death. See *Marcell. l.* 24.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

How they us'd his Memory.

THE Primitive Chriſtians were ſo far from offering any injury to the Memory of *Conſtantius*, that as if they had onely remembred he was their Emperour; and now by his being dead, own'd a new obligation ſuperadded to *that*, to ſpeak well of Him; they deplore his loſs with all the demonſtrations of a real ſorrow: the eyes that were wet when he perſecuted them, wept afreſh at his funeral, as if they had perfectly learn't that great leſſon of their Saviour, not onely to bear with, but even to love their enemies. The Souldiers you would think, by the extravagance of their grief, had forgot their Character; and *Conſtantine* himſelf died not more lamented than his Son. *Julian*, who had no great reaſon to be fond of his life, if he conſulted his own ſafety, aſſiſted at his Obſequies, and made a very conſiderable figure in that ſorrowfull proceſſion; and if we reade *Gregory Nazianzen*'s deſcription of his funeral, we muſt needs ſtand

ſtand amaz'd at the greatneſs of their Charity; He tells us, that he was carried forth with all the ſolemnity the Chriſtians us'd to honour the Corps of a Pious Hero with; and would fain perſuade the people to believe that the very Angels themſelves, in reward of his unuſual piety, contributed their aſſiſtance to inhance the Glories of his Funeral; but whether this is one of that Father's flights, or really true, I ſhan't contend: this is certain from all the Hiſtories of that age, that he died generally lamented; and that thoſe that ſuffer'd by his Edicts, did not preſume to blaſpheme the Memory of him that made them.

This was the Conduct of the Primitive Chriſtians; and if they ever acted contrary, it was not to be imputed to their Religion, but their Paſſions. I ſhall eaſily grant that there are ſome ſevere reflexions upon *Julian* to be met withall in Authours of very good note; but I hope Mr. *Johnſon* will not infer from that, that they are warrantable. If he reades thoſe very Fathers thorough, he will find that their Theory runs ſometimes contrary to their Practice, and that they don't always act according to their own principles; and I don't know why he ſhould draw thoſe paſſages into preſidents for us, which the Authours themſelves in their cooler minutes were aſham'd to own.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Reflexions on the Behaviour of theſe Chriſtians, wherein, of Paſſive Obedience.

THat the Perſecution under *Conſtantius* was much ſeverer than any of the ten former, is evident to any one that conſiders the Cruelties that were daily acted by the *Arian* Hereticks; who as they were much more zealous for their Opinions than the Heathens, ſo conſequently they were more eager in proſecuting thoſe that diſſented from them: The loſs of a Trade or Profeſſion was not the puniſhment of their Non-conformity, but of Life too; nay, there were penalties inflicted where death was the leaſt part of the puniſhment: But all theſe heavy grievances did not make them queſtion God's Providence, or remonſtrate to the Decrees of the Emperour; they did not make their preſſures juſt, by impatiently ſubmitting to them; nor fruſtrate the reward of their ſufferings, by reviling their Perſecutours; there-

by rendring their Perſecution onely an unprofitable affliction: they look't upon their miſeries as neceſſary tryals of their faith, knowing that the power of even wicked and hurtfull Kings is from God.

What therefore can juſtifie the Primitive Chriſtians carriage toward *Julian*, if it were according to the account Mr. *Johnſon* gives of it, *p.* 66? That they vext every vein in his Royal heart; ſaid all their prayers backward; and call'd down for vengeance upon his head, *&c.* And at laſt concludes, They ſeem to have broke all the meaſures by which all the ancient and ſuffering Chriſtians have gone by in their Perſecutions, *p.* 68. The reaſons he brings to juſtifie their Actions, are theſe:

1. That their caſe was different from that of the firſt Chriſtians, becauſe Chriſtianity was now the Eſtabliſht Religion of the Empire, and they were juſtly incenſed at *Julian* in offering to diſturb them in the exerciſe of it.

2. Since *Conſtantius* had repeal'd all the ſanguinary Edicts againſt them, they were perſecuted contrary to Law.

To the firſt of theſe I anſwer; That if he takes Chriſtianity for the true Religion *Conſtantine* profeſs'd and maintain'd, his aſſertion is utterly falſe; for the Emperour's Religion, which is likewiſe the Religion of the

the Empire, as far as Edicts can make it, (and *Conſtantine* had no other way to eſtabliſh any thing) was *Arianiſm*; for *Conſtantius* had long maintain'd that damnable Hereſie, and had ſupply'd all the places of the Orthodox Biſhops, who were baniſh'd for their Confeſſion with the moſt violent profeſſours of it. So that when *Julian* came to the Empire, the Church was far from enjoying that peace and tranquillity Mr. *Johnſon* deſcribes, *p.* 68. for it was miſerably rent with diviſions, and hardly viſible but in a few perſecuted, diſtreſſed members: For granting that *Conſtantius* did at laſt repent, it was ſo late firſt, he had no time to ſettle the true Religion, but left the Empire infected with the Hereſie he firſt introduced: which was no more Chriſtianity then, than *Mahumetiſm* is now; for though they acknowledged a Saviour, 'twas one of their own making, and the Notions they entertain'd of Chriſt may perhaps onely entitle them to greater damnation, than the Heathens that never heard his name: So that the quiet enjoyment of their Religion could not make them ſo fierce againſt *Julian*, for deſigning to moleſt them, for he could not put them into a greater confuſion than they were in already: Nay, they rather found the contrary; for whoever will take the pains to compare *Julian*'s Uſage of the Chriſtians with that of

Conſtantius, he will find that the Heathen was leſs a Perſecutour than the *Arian*; and that the Church had more quiet minutes in the ſhort Reign of *Julian*, than in 30 years before; for he (upon what private deſigns matters not) call'd home the Baniſh'd Biſhops, and reſtor'd them to their places in the Church: And though he ridicul'd Chriſtianity, he did not often perſecute the profeſſours of it; he endeavour'd indeed to gain Proſelytes, but yet, like *Arians*, he did not compell people to his Altars: Nay if we will take Mr. *Johnſon's* word, he was rather a Tempter than a Perſecutour. I hope this is enough to ſhew, that there is not a word true of all that gay deſcription Mr. *Johnſon* gives us, *p.* 68, 69, *&c.* of the flouriſhing condition of the Church; and conſequently the juſt ſenſe of the happineſs they enjoy'd, and a fear to be rob'd of it, could not animate the Chriſtians to that degree that he tells us it did.

2. As to the ſecond, That *Conſtantine* repeal'd all the ſanguinary Edicts againſt the Chriſtians, and therefore if they were perſecuted, 'twas contrary to Law; it is a very ſhallow inference: For though that firſt Chriſtian Emperour repeal'd all the ſanguinary Edicts, yet his Succeſſour was not in the leaſt tied up: One ſingle word of his would put them all in force again. Nay if we

we believe *Juſtinian* (who certainly was a good judge in the caſe) the Emperour could not act contrary to Law; for what he did, was according to his pleaſure, and his pleaſure was a Law, *Quod Principi placuit legis habet vigorem,* [Juſt. *Inſt.* l. 1. c. 2.] and the Edicts were altogether as Arbitrary, for they were onely the Emperour's will more publickly made known; for *Theop.* defines them, *Edicta ſunt, cum Princeps motu proprio,* ἐξ ὀικείας φύσεως νυνθεὶς *aliquid conſtituit ad honeſtatem & utilitatem reipublicæ*; for whatever the Emperour enacted, how ill ſoever, was ſuppos'd to be ſo; for as his ſentence was always preſum'd to be juſt [*Principis ſententia præſumitur ſemper juſta unde ab ea non appellatur*;] ſo likewiſe were all his actions: So that whether *Julian* put the Chriſtians to death upon ſanguinary Edicts, or rather accus'd them of other Crimes (that he might avoid the invidious name of a Perſecutour) and ſo deſtroy'd them, is not material, for 'tis certain he commanded them to be executed; and if he did, they dy'd lawfully, for his Command was a Law; and that the Emperour's Command had this authority, is evident from the Proteſtation of the people of *Alexandria, Athan.* p. 858. [If it be the Emperour's Command we ſhould be perſecuted, we are all ready to ſuffer Martyrdom; but if there be no ſuch thing,

we beſeech *Maximus*, the Governour of *Egypt*, and all the Magiſtrates, that they would entreat his Majeſty that no ſuch thing may be attempted againſt us.] So that what Mr. *Johnſon* means, *p.* 72. by ſaying the firſt Chriſtians ſuffer'd according to the Laws of their Country, whereas thoſe under *Julian* were perſecuted contrary to Law, is hard to determine; for every one knows the will of their Emperours was the Law of their Country, for they were as Arbitrary then as he that now Uſurps their Throne; and I hope no body will ſay the great *Turk* perſecutes his Subjects contrary to Law, when he kills 5 or 6000 of them for diverſion: That he acts unjuſtly, I grant, but the Laws (that is, his will and pleaſure) are on his ſide.

But to put an end to this matter, 'twill be evident to any that have read the former part of this Book, that all the ſanguinary Acts againſt Chriſtians were not repeal'd; for thoſe made by *Conſtantius*, which were ſevere enough (if we believe *Athanaſius*, p. 821.) ſtood ſtill in force till *Julian* his immediate Succeſſour came to the Crown.

But Mr. *Johnſon* need not have given himſelf all this trouble to juſtifie the Actions of the Primitive Chriſtians, for they were never guilty of any that wanted an excuſe; for the Church under *Julian* never own'd thoſe principles or practices that tended to the

the diſhonour of their Emperour, as has been ſhew'd at large in the 2, 3, 4 Chapters, *&c.* of this book.

I ſhall confine my ſelf no longer to the Actions of a particular people or Nation, but conſider what is our duty as Chriſtians in relation to our Governours; and what ſubmiſſion is due to them when they perſecute us according to Law, or deſtroy us by an uncontrollable Arbitrary power.

As to the firſt of theſe, the caſe is plain, and agreed upon on all hands, that ſubmiſſion is neceſſarily requir'd to a Perſecutour, that acts according to the Laws of his Country: this Mr. *Johnſon* allows, *p.* 92. in theſe words: [When the Laws of God and our Country interfere, and 'tis made death by the Law of the Land to be a good Chriſtian, then we are to lay down our lives for Chriſt's ſake.]

So that all the diſpute is about our Submiſſion to a Perſecutour, that acts without the authority of the Law, and contrary to it.

Mr. *Johnſon* denies that Submiſſion is due to him by the Goſpel, [*ibid.*] but I ſhall make the contrary appear from the plain authority of the Holy Scriptures, the ſenſe of the Primitive Chriſtians, as likewiſe from that too of our preſent Church.

For, firſt, if we are not oblig'd to ſubmit to a Tyrant that acts contrary to the Law, we may reſiſt him, for there is no Medium, flying being part of our Paſſive Obedience that is acknowledg'd due to a Perſecutour that acts according to Law: but reſiſting is not in any caſe allowable; for beſides our Saviour's own words, τῷ πονηρῷ μὴ ἀντιςῆναι, 'tis forbidden, *Rom.* 12. 17. to *return any man evil for evil.* And again *v.* 19. *Dearly beloved, avenge not your ſelves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay it, ſaith the Lord.* Now if no man may pay evil to his brother that has injur'd him, but by the hand of the Supreme Power, how can it be allowable to render evil for evil to the Supreme Power it ſelf? It cannot be done but by a Superiour, and He onely is God. We have redreſs indeed againſt the violence of our fellow ſubject, by applying our ſelves to the Magiſtrate, who may puniſh the offender, being authorized by God ſo to doe [*Rom.* 3. 4.] But we don't find the People have the like Power over the Magiſtrate: Obedience is our buſineſs, which is inconſiſtent with the liberty of reſiſting. *Grotius* tells us plainly, *Si, quia ſummum imperium habenti libet, injuria nobis inferatur, toleranda potius eſt quam vi reſiſtendum*; For though by the Law of Nature we have the power of Repelling

pelling injuries, yet we have a greater obligation from the Civil Government under which we live, that wholly deveſts us of this right. *Poteſt igitur Civitas jus illud reſiſtendi promiſcuum publicæ pacis & ordinis cauſâ prohibere*, cap. 4. l. 2. de *Ju. Bel.* & *Pa.* So that this patient ſubmitting to the Arbitrary determinations of the Magiſtrate is not onely from the doctrine of our Saviour, but from the principles of Civil prudence: For the Lawyers will tell us, that a miſchief is better than an inconvenience; not that the firſt formally conſider'd is to be preferr'd to the latter, but that an inconvenience, whoſe conſequence would reach unto the general, ſhould be prevented rather than a miſchief, that would onely endamage particulars. Hence it is that oppoſing the Magiſtrate is forbid upon any terms whatſoever, ſince the indulgence of it would bring a train of ill conſequences, ten times worſe than all the miſchiefs we can poſſibly ſuffer from the cruelty of a lawleſs Tyrant; For as *Grotius* has it in his Commentary on the 13 of the *Romans*, *Reges conſtituuntur ut improbitate repreſſâ tutiùs vivant boni, hoc autem pleniſſimè præſtant boni reges, mali quoque aliquatenus vel ſui cauſâ, & quanquam aliquando vitii aliquid interveniat, nunquam tamen non tutiùs eſt eſſe Principes, quam non eſſe: Rectè ergo Tacitus, vitia erunt donec homines, ſed neque*

neque hæc continua & meliorum interventu penſantur.

It was a Maxim the former Heathens learnt from their Philoſophers, ὀργὴν παιδὸς φέρειν, and that this anger was not always ſuppos'd to be juſt, a Latin ſaying, to the ſame purpoſe, will ſhew us, *ames parentem ſi æquus eſt, ſi non, feras*; and that the ſame, if not much greater difference is to be paid to our common Father, is out of queſtion.

In ſome caſes I allow it is lawfull not to obey our Parent, or our King, but in all caſes 'tis neceſſary not to reſiſt. St. *Peter* Commands *Servants to be ſubject to their Maſters, with all fear; not onely the good and gentle, but alſo the froward; for this is thankworthy, if a man for conſcience-ſake toward God endure grief, ſuffering wrongfully:* and *Grotius* will tell us, *Quod dicitur ſubjectionem dominis deberi etiam duris, idem ad reges quoque referendum.* Nay we owe a greater ſubmiſſion to our Governours, than a Servant doth to his Maſter; for if he complains of wrongfull uſage, redreſs is to be had from the Magiſtrate; but we can onely appeal to God.

But to put this matter beyond all controverſie, let's conſider what St. *Paul* ſays, Rom. 13. 2. *Whoſoever reſiſts the power, reſiſts the ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.*

Here

Here is a general rule laid down without the leaſt exception; and that it belongs to us, will be evident, if we conſider who gave it St. *Paul*, who being the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, what he delivers is univerſal. And why ſhould we preſume to be wiſer than the Law, and make diſtinctions where we find none? St. *Paul* tells us, *Whoever reſiſts the power, ſhall be damn'd.* Mr. *Johnſon* tells us, we may reſiſt one that acts contrary to Law: This diſtinction might be plauſible, if this wicked power were not the Ordinance of God; but ſince it is (as I ſhall evidently make out by and by) the reſiſting this Ordinance contracts a guilt, that makes us obnoxious to eternal torments. Mr. *Johnſon* indeed quotes *Bracton* to prove, that a Magiſtrate can have no power from God, to act contrary to the Law, *Quia poteſtas juris ſolius Dei eſt, poteſtas autem injuriæ Diaboli:* But I wonder what Divine ever conſulted a common Lawyer before about a Caſe of Conſcience; for I believe *Weſtminſter-Hall* Divinity is as bad as Pulpit-law: He may likewiſe, if he pleaſe, make uſe of *Scotch* Politicks, and he will find his Friends, *Knox* and *Buchanan*, of his opinion: But St. *Auguſtine* will tell him (*Præf.* in *Enar.* 2 *Pſ.* 29.) [Every evil man hath in himſelf the will to hurt; but to be able to hurt, is not in his power: In that he hath the will

to

to hurt, he is already guilty; but that he ſhould have the ability, is permitted by the ſecret diſpenſation of God's Providence; toward ſome for Puniſhment; toward ſome for Tryal; toward ſome for obtaining a Crown: For puniſhment, as the *Philiſtins* were permitted to ſubdue the people of *Iſrael*, becauſe they had ſinned againſt God: For tryal, the Devil was permitted to aſſault *Job*; but *Job* was tryed, the Devil confounded: For winning the Crown, the Perſecutours were let looſe againſt the Martyrs; the Martyrs were ſlain, the Perſecutours thought they had gotten the day; theſe did falſly triumph in publick, the other were truly crown'd in ſecret: Therefore that he is permitted to deal againſt any, proceedeth from the ſecret diſpenſation of God's Providence; but that he hath a will to hurt, cometh from the man himſelf.] Here we ſee oppoſing even a Perſecutour, is reſiſting the Ordinance of God (ſince he hath his power from above,) and what the conſequence of that is, no Chriſtian can be ignorant of. Now that this was not Caſually ſpoken by that Great Father, but his ſetled opinion, is plain from his conſtant adhering to it: For in another place he ſays, (*l.* 5. *de C. D. c.* 8.) [From whom [God] are all powers, howſoever all mens wills are not from him;] and again (*Id. de Na. Bon.* &c.) [The

[The power even of hurtfull Kings is from God.] *Theod.* likewiſe on the 13 to the *Romans*, *Quum vult eos qui peccant caſtigare à malis Magiſtratibus regi permittit.* And *Iſidore* tells us plainly, [Hence we ſee both a bad and good power is ordained by God, *Bonam propitio, malam irato*; for we owe good Kings to the gift of God, but evil ones to our ſins; *Reges quando boni ſunt, muneris eſt Dei, quando vero mali ſceleris eſt Populi.*] But ſome may ſay the Fathers are men, and conſequently may err; to obviate this Cavil, I ſhall add the undoubted authority of Scripture, *Rom.* 13. 1. *There is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God:* and *Job* 34. 10. *God maketh a wicked man to reign for the ſins of the People.*

Since therefore 'tis plain from theſe many inſtances, that the power of wicked Princes is from God, our reſiſtance cannot be any ways warrantable: We may as well quarrel with Providence for ſending Plagues among us, or murmur at the Almighty when he viſits us with his Judgments, as reſiſt a Perſecutour; for he is ſent to puniſh us for our ſins; he is onely the inſtrument, the rod in God's hand, which we ought rather to kiſs than burn.

I hope it has been ſufficiently proved from the Scriptures, and Senſe of the Fathers, that the

the power of wicked Princes is from God, and conſequently it is our duty to ſubmit to them, though they act never ſo illegally. It remains now, that I ſhould prove, that this is likewiſe the Doctrine of our preſent Church; and here I might refer my Reader to all the Writings of our Eminent Divines ſince the Reformation, whoſe buſineſs it has been to preach up Obedience to Governours, and have unanimouſly declar'd againſt reſiſtance upon any terms whatſoever: I might tranſcribe great part of Biſhop *Bilſon*, Biſhop *Taylour* and Dr. *Hammond*'s Tracts upon this ſubject, but I ſhall rather chuſe onely to quote the Homilies, it being agreed on all ſides, that in them is contain'd the true Doctrine of our Church; and Mr. *Johnſon* deſervedly ſtiles them the next beſt book to the Bible. I wiſh he could commend them upon his own knowledge; but I am afraid he never read any more of them than ſerv'd for a preſent purpoſe, and cares as little for them otherwiſe as the Country people do: For if he had met with the Homilies againſt Rebellion and Diſobedience, we ſhould never have had that aſſertion, *p.* 92. That the onely Caſe wherein the Goſpel requires Paſſive Obedience, is when the Laws are againſt a man: For in the firſt Homily againſt Diſobedience and Wilfull Rebellion, there are theſe words, [We ſhall

ſhall find in very many and almoſt infinite places in Holy Scripture, as well of the Old Teſtament as the New; as well the Evil as the Good do reign by God's Ordinance, and we are bound to obey them.] And again—[It cometh not of chance and fortune (as they term it) nor of the ambition of mortal men and women climing up of their own accord to dominion, that there be Kings, Queens and Princes, and other Governours over men, being their Subjects; but All Kings and Queens and other Governours are eſpecially appointed by the Ordinance of God.] —And again, [What ſhall Subjects doe then? ſhall they obey the valiant, ſtout, wiſe and good Princes, and contemn, diſobey and rebell againſt Children, or againſt indiſcreet and evil Governours? God forbid, *&c.*] And the reaſon follows—[For a Rebell is worſe than the worſt Prince, and Rebellion worſe than the worſt Government of the worſt Prince that hitherto has been.] —And in another place, [Shall the Subjects both by their wickedneſs provoke God for their deſerved puniſhment, to give them an undiſcreet or evil Prince, and alſo rebell againſt them, and alſo againſt God, who for the puniſhment of their ſins did give them ſuch a Prince?] I am weary of tranſcribing out of a Book that ought to be almoſt as well known to us as our Bibles; but I can't forbear

forbear to inſert this paſſage, which is ſo pertinent to the buſineſs in hand, and makes it plain that we ought by our repentance to avert the miſeries of a wicked Prince, and not by reſiſting his power; the words are theſe, ——[Let us take away our wickedneſs, that provok'd God to ſet ſuch an one over us, and God will either diſplace him, or of an evil Prince, make him a good Prince; ſo that we firſt change our evil into good; for Subjects to deſerve through their ſins, to have an evil Prince, and to rebell againſt him were double and treble evil, by provoking God more to plague them: Nay, let us either deſerve to have a good Prince, or let us patiently ſuffer and obey ſuch as we deſerve.]

Having thus ſecur'd the Supreme Magiſtrate from the violence of his Subjects, it will be neceſſary to take ſome care of his under Officers; whoſe power, ſince it is the Ordinance of God (for *Epiphanius* proves, that the many Magiſtrates under one King are Ordain'd of God, from the 13 to the *Romans*) ought no more to be reſiſted than the King's.

Though this may ſeem ſomething harſh in an Engliſh man's ears, who will acknowledge perhaps that the King can doe no injury, and is above the cenſure of the Law, yet

yet he knows his Officers are accountable for any illegal act; and the very Command of the Prince cannot ſecure them from being impeach't by the People: granting this to be very true; yet I ſhall ſtill aſſert, that the inferiour Magiſtrate, though in the execution of an illegal act is not to be repell'd by force; for though *Bracton* tells us, *Ei qui vult viribus uti erit viriliter reſiſtendum*; and the law in our own defence permits us to kill our enemy, yet (as it is ſufficiently declar'd before) we ſin in ſo doing; and though we eſcape here, judgment will overtake us hereafter. Let's hear St. *Peter's* opinion in the caſe, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, 14, 15. *Submit your ſelves unto every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake, whether to the King as ſupreme, or unto governours, as unto them that are ſent by him.——For this is the will of God,* &c.——From this 'tis plain that we ought to ſubmit to inferiour Officers for the Lord's ſake, as well as ſupreme; this ſubordinate power being from God, though not immediately: This is ſufficiently acknowledged in our Saviour's anſwer to *Pilate, Thou couldſt have no power over me, except it were given thee from above*; and we all know he was under the Emperour. *Ref.* 17. 18.

I am not ignorant that the above-cited Text from St. *Peter* has been perverted to ſerve upon a far different occaſion; the im-

proper tranſlation of ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις humane Ordinance giving occaſion to ſome ignorant or ill-minded people to infer, that all government is of humane inſtitution; but to any conſidering man 'tis plain, that κτίσις here ſignifies a *perſon*, and not a *thing*, from the diviſion ſubjoyn'd, whether it be to Kings as Supreme, or Governours, *&c.* and therefore the beſt Tranſlation runs, *Submit your ſelves to every humane creature.* Here it may be objected, that this explication is too large, becauſe undoubtedly we are not to ſubmit to all men: To this I anſwer, that ſentences deliver'd in general terms are not always to be taken in their full extent; but reſtrictions are allowable, provided they are had from parallel places in Scripture; for this Command of *ſubjecting our ſelves to all men*, implies no more but this, We muſt *ſubmit our ſelves to all men to whom ſubmiſſion is due:* ſo *Haymo* in *Rom.* 13. *Subditi eſtote omni creaturæ, i. e. omnibus hominibus nobis præpoſitis.* But that which gives colour for the allowance of this reſtriction, is the like expreſſion in the ſame Chapter, *v.* 17. where we are *commanded to honour all men.* Certainly the meaning of this is not that the King ſhould honour his Subjects, or the Father his Children. But as Dr. *Hammond* in his Paraphraſe on the place, [Give every man the Honour and Obedience that is due to

to him:] and St. *Paul* confirms this, *Rom.* 13. 7. *Give all men their due, Tribute to whom tribute.—Honour to whom honour.*

But to make this point of our ſubmiſſion to under Officers, as plain as poſſible, let us conſider the example of our Saviour, who when he was ſet upon by a great multitude with ſwords and ſtaves, *&c.* who certainly acted very illegally, for they had no juſt Commiſſion for what they did, nor could have (for our Saviour tells them, *Luke* 22. 53. *This is your hour, and the power of darkneſs*; which Dr. *Hammond* explains in his Paraphraſe, [This is the time when the Devil and you are permitted to work your wills on me.] Yet he was ſo far from reſiſting them (though he had ten Millions of Angels at his command) that he ſeverely rebuked *Peter* for drawing his ſword in his defence, and bid him put it up, for *all that take the ſword, ſhall periſh by the ſword.* Here we ſee our Saviour doth not onely encourage us by his example to ſubmit patiently to thoſe that wrongfully aſſault us, but by his Precept enjoyns it as our duty; he doth not leave it at our diſpoſal, whether we will ſubmit or no; nor is this onely a Counſel of Perfection, which brings honour and reward to thoſe that keep it; but to thoſe that doe not, no manner of

danger at all (as Mr. *Johnſon* ſpeaks, *p.* 68. from *Greg. Naz.*) for we ſee here a penalty threatned to the reſiſter; though if any caſe might be excepted, this ought to claim the privilege, for the ſword could never be drawn in a better cauſe, or by a better hand: But the Precept is univerſal and unalterable. St. *Peter* himſelf muſt not reſiſt, though to defend his Saviour.

This is a hard leſſon (I know) to fleſh and blood, but we muſt not Conſult them when we are to take up the Croſs; which is the indiſpenſable duty of every Chriſtian, 2 *Tim.* 3. 12. And again, *Heb.* 11. 6, 7, 8. *For whom the Lord loveth, he chaſteneth; and ſcourgeth every ſon whom he receiveth.*

I hope I have not omitted any thing in Mr. *Johnſon*'s book that might deſerve the leaſt Conſideration; but to make the ſurer work, it will be neceſſary to make ſome particular remarks upon thoſe five Propoſitions, *p.* 92. into which he tells us there he has reduced the force and ſtrength of what was formerly delivered in his Book.

1. Chriſtianity deſtroys no man's natural or civil Rights, but confirms them.

Anſ.

Anſ. Chriſtianity doth not at all meddle with our Civil Rights [1 *Cor.* 7. 20, 21. with Dr. *Hammond*'s Paraphraſe.] And as for Natural Rights, ſome it has confirm'd, but deſtroy'd others; for many things were lawfull to us as men, which are not ſo as Chriſtians. Nay, there were many things allow'd under the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy, which Chriſt hath abſolutely forbid; and particularly in this caſe of private revenge, and reſiſting the unlawfull Oppreſſour. See *Matth.* 5. *v.* 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43. with Dr. *Hammond*'s Paraphraſe.

2. All men have a natural and civil Right and Property in their Lives, till they have forfeited them by the Laws of their Country.

Anſ. We had indeed a natural Right to our Lives, and we might have defended them by force, and thoſe weapons that nature had beſtowed upon us; but this Right is ſuperſeded not onely by the Maxims of Chriſtianity, but Civil policy too (as has been ſhewn from *Grotius*); and we can no more defend our Lives by violence, than we can deſtroy them upon private diſcontent; both the preſerving and deſtroying the Subject being lodg'd in the hands of the Supreme Magiſtrate.

3. When the Laws of God and our Country interfere, and it is made death by the Law of the Land to be a good Chriſtian, then we are to lay down our lives for Chriſt's ſake. This is the onely caſe wherein the Goſpel requires Paſſive Obedience, namely, when the Laws are againſt a man: And this was the caſe of the firſt Chriſtians.

Anſ. 1. The rule of our Obedience and Submiſſion is univerſal, there is no perſon excepted; nay, 'tis plain from Scripture that we ought not onely to ſubmit when the Laws are againſt us, but when they are for us, and we are illegally oppreſt: For if our Saviour commands us, *Matth.* 5. 38, 39, &c. not to reſiſt a private perſon that offer'd us an injury, (which is certainly illegal, and acknowledged ſo all over the world, ſince he acts without ſo much as any pretended authority) how much rather ought we to ſubmit to the Magiſtrate, though he acts contrary to Law; for beſides the general obligation we have juſt now mentioned, there is another that more particularly reſtrains us, *viz.* St. *Paul's* Command, to ſubmit to his power as he is a Magiſtrate, and conſequently ordained by God.

2. The Laws were no more againſt the firſt Chriſtians, than they were againſt thoſe under

under *Julian*; for they ſuffered both by the ſame Law, *viz.* the uncontrollable will of their Emperour.

4. That killing a man contrary to Law is Murther.

Anſ. I can't grant this univerſally true, for ſometimes 'tis more than Murther, *viz.* Treaſon, ſometimes leſs, *viz.* Manſlaughter: but that Murther is Murther, I allow. I hope the Reader will pardon the ſeeming lightneſs of this Anſwer, ſince it is neceſſary to ſhew how hard it is for Mr. *Johnſon* to ſpeak truth or ſenſe in the moſt trivial concerns.

5. That every man is bound to prevent Murther as far as the Law allows, and ought not to ſubmit to be Murthered if he can help it.

Anſ. How plauſible ſoever this ſeems, 'tis utterly falſe: We ought indeed to prevent Murther by all the means our Laws command, for they can command nothing contrary to the Scriptures, but not by thoſe they barely allow; for 'tis evident from what has been delivered already, that the Law permits ſome means that are not warranted by the Goſpel, and thoſe we muſt Prof. 17. 18.

not, cannot uſe; for we ought not to damn our ſelves to prevent the violence of a Murtherer, though offered to our ſelves; for our Saviour aſſures us we don't loſe our lives by this patient ſubmiſſion to death, but gain them.

'Twill not be impertinent now to take notice of ſome Quotations pickt up out of *Bracton*, to countenance Mr. *Johnſon*'s Doctrine, *p.* 83. who certainly has a peculiar way of perverting the ſenſe of Authours: For how elſe could he arm *Bracton* againſt his Prince? who, good man! little thought his authority ſhould be made uſe of to countenance diſobedience, or to pull down the Prerogative, of which he really was ſo juſt and vigorous a defender: But our Lawbooks may well be debaucht to ſerve the purpoſes of ill men, when the Bible is, and *Bracton* has not ſo much reaſon to complain of the injury, ſince he hath St. *Paul* for a fellow Sufferer: The ſubſtance of all he cites from *Bracton* is this; *Rex eſt ſub Deo & ſub Lege quia Lex facit Regem.* If Mr. *Johnſon* would but let *Bracton* interpret himſelf, we ſhould have none of the abſurd inferences he makes, *p.* 83. for he tells us, l. 3. c. 26. *Rex habet ſuperiorem Deum item Legem per quam factus eſt Rex, item Curiam ſuam*, viz. *Comites & Barones.* Here we ſee there

there is no more power allowed to the Law, than there is to the Earls and Barons; and that they can't civilly oblige the King to Obedience, but onely morally oblige his Conſcience when he is perſuaded their Counſels are juſt, I am ſure Mr. *Johnſon* himſelf will allow: Therefore 'tis evident that thoſe words cannot relate to any coercive power, but onely directive; for he ſays juſt before, *Nec factum Regis nec Chartam poteſt quis judicare ita quod factum Domini Regis irritetur:* And what he delivers in the following words, onely implies a Moral ſuperiority, by reaſon of a directive power in the Law, and likewiſe in the Earls, *&c.* not any civil juriſdiction or coercive power; for he declares, *cap.* 4. *p.* 17. that for all the ill the King can doe, God onely can puniſh him: *Satis ſufficit ei pro pœna quod Dominum expectet ultorem.* This is enough to ſatisfie thoſe that never did, and perhaps never may ſee *Bracton*'s Books of the meaning of that great Lawyer; as for thoſe that underſtand him, they know that he of all men is not in the leaſt guilty of any ſaying that may derogate from the Prerogative of the Prince, for he has evidently made it his buſineſs to juſtifie it in its fulleſt extent.

I might

I might here conclude, but that Mr. *Johnſon* will give us another touch of the Primitive Chriſtians, *p.* 93. where he tells us we have no occaſion for that admirable example of the *Thebæan* Legion: If he had not forgot the Service of the Church, he would know the patience of Martyrs was not onely the buſineſs of our imitation, but the ſubject of our prayers too: And though we have not always occaſion to follow their example, yet it is our conſtant duty to thank God for it. And therefore in the moſt peacefull ſettled times this ſad ſtory is not impertinent from the Pulpit; we have ſolemn days to Commemorate the ſufferings of our bleſſed Saviour and the Apoſtles: And though the Church has not thought fit to give this glorious Action a place in the Kalendar, it ought certainly to be eternally fixt in our Memories; for then if ill times ſhould come (and if we conſider impartially God's juſtice and our own ſins, we have little reaſon to expect otherwiſe) the Example and Conduct of the *Thebæan* Legion will be of great uſe to us; there we ſhall ſee Souldiers dye with the ſame Meen they uſed to triumph; and Chieftains not inſpiring their Souldiers with Courage, but inſtilling the ſofter Maxims of Patience: *Eucherius*

cherius tells the Emperour (after a ſecond Decemation of the Legion, and upon his Command to deſtroy them all) [Deſpair it ſelf, O Emperour, which is ſtrongeſt in dangers, hath not arm'd us againſt thee: Behold we have weapons, and yet offer not to reſiſt, becauſe we had rather dye than overcome, chuſing rather to dye innocent, than live guilty, *&c.*] No body but Mr. *Johnſon* would ſay this great Example is not univerſally to be imitated; and his reaſon is, becauſe they ſuffered according to the Laws of their Country. This ſhift of his has been ſufficiently expoſed already; but that he may not have the leaſt pretence to it hereafter, I ſhall ſhew that the Chriſtians under *Julian* had power to reſiſt (and he declares the Laws were for them,) and yet they did not; ſo that his aſſertion, *p.* 94. that they would if they could; and conſequently that we may, is utterly falſe. Now that the Chriſtians were able, appears from all the Hiſtorians that ſpeak of that age; for not onely the greateſt part of the world were Chriſtians, but *Julian*'s Army was entirely ſo; for when they choſe *Jovinian* for their Emperour, he refuſed the Honour, telling them, That ſince he was a Chriſtian, he could not Command over Heathens; but they all, with one accord, cried out, We are Chriſtians.] *Ruſin.* l. 2. c. 1. *Theodoret* is more

more full in this caſe; for he makes the Army tell him, that he ſhall command Chriſtians that were ever bred up to that profeſſion [χριστιανῶν βασιλεύσεις καὶ μαθήμασι εὐσεβέσι συντεθραμμένων] for thoſe that were elder, had *Conſtantine* for their Teacher, the younger *Conſtantius*; nay, they aſſure him they could not be Heathens, for *Julian* did not live long enough to pervert them: Τότε γὰρ τῷ τεθνεώτος ὀλίγος ἦγε μονίας ὀχρόνος καὶ οὐκ ἱκανὸς τοῖς ἐξηπατημένοις ἐνιδρύσαι τὴν λοιβήν. *Th. l.* 4. *c.* 1. This Mr. *Johnſon* himſelf knew, for all he ſaith, *p.* 94. [What would they have a few defenceleſs Chriſtians doe, when they had loſt their ſtrength, and ſo many of their numbers?] for in his Preface, *p.* 25. he quotes St. *Aug.* in *Pſ.* 124. who there ſaith, [Though *Julian* was an Apoſtate, an Oppreſſour and Idolater, yet Chriſtian Souldiers ſerved under him.] Now whether theſe were unarm'd or defenceleſs when they were to fight, let any reaſonable man judge; and for their Numbers, I appeal to the Hiſtorians.

Thus I hope I have performed my promiſe, *viz.* 1. I have ſhewn the Unlawfulneſs of Excluding the next Heir upon the account of his Religion, and that it is a practice altogether unknown to the Primitive Chriſtians.

2. I have

2. I have proved the neceſſity of Paſſive Obedience from the Scripture, the Senſe of the Primitive Fathers, and the Doctrine of our preſent Church.

3. I have not left any thing unanſwered in *Julian*, &c. that oppoſed the Right of the next Heir, or juſtified Reſiſtance.

As for the latter part of the Book, ſince I am not concerned in the Vindication of the Papiſts, I ſhall leave it to the cenſure of thoſe that are. But I muſt needs ſay, that Mr. *Johnſon* had more effectually routed the Papiſts, if he had rather ſet down the Arguments with which thoſe great Men confuted their Doctrines, than onely the Rhetorick they expoſed them with; for we, (whether it be the civility or judgment of the age, I ſhan't determine) are not much affected with the Old *Elizabeth*-way of railing.

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